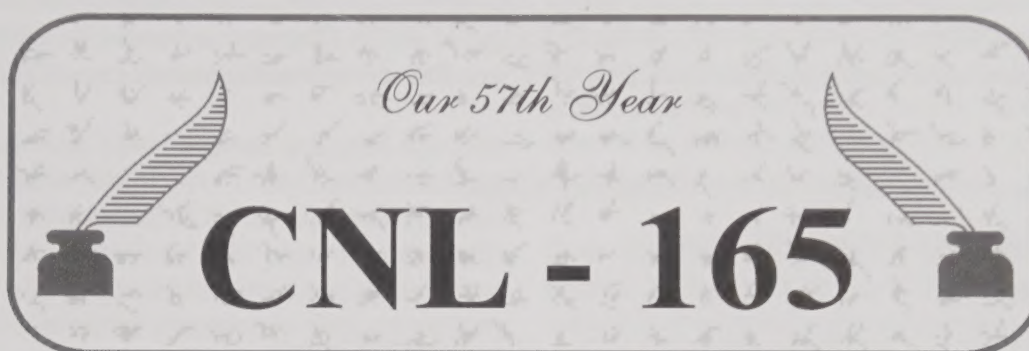


The
COLONIAL NEWSLETTER
A Research Journal in Early American Numismatics

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CNL Staff

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Submitting Material for Publication

We encourage our readers to consider submitting material on early North American numismatics to CNL for publication. In general, this includes coins, tokens, paper money, and medals that were current before the U.S. Federal Mint began operations in 1793. However, there are certain pieces produced after the 1793 date that have traditionally been considered part of pre-Federal numismatics and should be included. We cover all aspects of study regarding the manufacture and use of these items. Our very knowledgeable and friendly staff will assist potential authors to finalize submissions by providing advice concerning the text and help with illustrations. Submissions in either electronic or hard copy format, should be sent to the editor via the e-mail address given above or through the ANS at their postal address. Electronic text submissions should be formatted in Word with separate grayscale images.

Editorial

This is the last issue of *The Colonial Newsletter* for 2017. That means it is time to renew your subscription. Please take time to do so today before it slips your mind. Thank you.

This year has been a great success for *CNL* with the publication of the 1788 Connecticut and Federal Mint Account Book and the Leavenworth Account Book for 1787 plus many fantastic articles and groundbreaking discoveries. Next year will see some changes to *CNL* as we look for ways to increase readership and scholarly content. We are exploring the possibility of title and binding changes. Change is difficult, especially when things are going well, but the enemy of great is good. We cannot be complacent or satisfied, but must strive for excellence. At the same time, we should not make changes without good reason. Please know that the changes you will see in 2018 are all carefully thought out and done in consultation with the associate editors of this publication and other leaders in the industry.

Under our current publication format *CNL* cannot participate in online services that sell individual articles. In addition, libraries will not accept the publication for their shelves because of its unusual size and binding. This limits our revenue and exposure—two things vital for any publishing endeavor. For these reasons, we plan to make alterations to our binding and formatting to better suit our circulation goals. *CNL*-164 was the maximum size possible using the current binding. Indeed, after the editor submitted the issue to the printer, he received a message that pages needed to be cut. Additionally, a large article was removed from this issue because of size concerns. When I assumed the role of editor I promised to deliver greater content to our subscribers and the only way to do this is to modify the binding so that it more closely resembles that used by other well-respected journals. The issue you are holding could have been much longer as two additional articles are ready for publication, but they could not be included because of size restrictions imposed by our binding format. As you can imagine, authors want to see their work in print yesterday and do not like it when

I tell them they must wait 9 months or more for space to open up. *ANS* has graciously offered to assist *CNL* to move to a more appropriate binding format and I have accepted that offer after consulting with many people. I do not know when this change will take place, but I hope to implement it as soon as possible.

Over the years *CNL* has grown from humble origins to the leading journal of scholarly research in the area of colonial numismatics—our name, however, has not changed to reflect the amended content of our publication; thus, in 2018, we will be looking for ways to incorporate a title more fitting our content: "*The Journal of Colonial Numismatics*," "*The Journal of Early American Numismatics*," and "*The Journal of Colonial and Confederation Numismatics*" are all names currently under consideration. I will continue to include *The Colonial Newsletter* name on the masthead. This decision has not been finalized and our subscribers should feel free to email me with suggestions. Currently, the words "A research Journal in Early American Numismatics" appear on the mast head, but this is insufficient. The word "Newsletter" means "a bulletin issued periodically to the members of a society, business, or organization" while "Journal" means "a magazine that deals with a particular subject or professional activity." Because *CNL* is a periodical devoted to a single subject—colonial numismatics, the word "Journal" more aptly describes it. Moreover, the word "Journal" is more scholarly in nature and I believe its inclusion will help attract better content and subscribers.

The associate editors of *CNL* are the best in the business. I have come to know each of them very well and I have a deep respect for their knowledge and commitment to the hobby. No single person could ever be an expert in all areas of colonial numismatics, but I do not think there is a topic that I cannot turn to someone of the editorial board for help. Like me, they are all volunteers and this publication would not be possible without them. Everyone on the editorial staff will continue to assist in 2018. I could not do my work without them and I am grateful to them and wish to extend my thanks to them

for their hard work this year—with increased content comes increased work and no one has complained.

The world is changing and we can either change with it or perish. Nothing demonstrates this more than the Newman Numismatic Portal. This site is a game-changer for numismatic research. If you have not looked at the Portal, please do so—you will see the future. Research that once took weeks now takes minutes or even seconds and can be done from the comfort of your own home. It is interesting to me, editor that this technological innovation was heralded by a man who was over 100 years old at the time, Eric P. Newman. The Portal may prove to be Mr. Newman's longest lasting and most impactful contribution to our hobby. On my bedside table is an article that Mr. Newman authored over a decade before my birth. I purchased it on EBay for \$15.00 thinking I would read it and update its contents. After I read it, I realized I had nothing to add—it was wonderful. I then noticed that I could have just read the article on the Portal for free; it was at that moment that I realized Mr. Newman was showing me the past and the future.

The article on the Newman Numismatic Portal is not the typical article we publish in these pages; however, I feel that if we are to expect our subscribers to continue to provide us with great content, it is necessary to arm them with the tools necessary to accomplish that task. I hope you will read Bruce Smith's article on the Portal and then I hope you will get on the internet and explore what the Portal has to offer. If you looked at the Portal when it first started, look again, it is growing by leaps and bounds. If your visit to the Portal causes you to finish that article you started 8 years ago and send it to me for publication, all the better!

This journal is and will remain a place for our subscribers to share their research. Clearly, our subscribers are the most knowledgeable in all of numismatics. This fact is on display with Julie Purdy's article on Reuben Stevens. Despite much effort, I was unable to track Mr. Stevens after he concluded his employment with the Connecticut mint striking Fugio coppers. Ms. Purdy took up my challenge to round out Mr.

Stevens' life and has discovered that he was an extraordinary man. Ms. Purdy concludes the story of Mr. Steven's life by showing how he was a leader in the African-American community in New Haven and New York and an early abolitionist.

Of course the stories of Reuben Stevens, Aaron, or Jack Arabass, whose lives were recorded for the first time in 2017 in the pages of *CNL*, would have never come to light had it not been for the Connecticut mint records published here. Jay Knipe, who brought these documents to me in late 2016, has provided us with a short article on the New Haven Museum. Exposing yet another resource for our subscribers to locate original documentation needed for research.

We would be remiss if we did not mention the passing of two great men who meant a lot to our hobby: Eric P. Newman and Robert Martin. Both Eric and Robert were long-time subscribers to this publication and both made valuable contributions to *CNL*. Some questioned if this publication is an appropriate place for tributes, but I feel that future generations of researchers should have the opportunity to read about the lives of great colonial numismatists written by their contemporaries and friends. I did not personally know Eric Newman, but his presence is felt all around us by his fantastic articles and the Newman Portal. As a Connecticut coin collector, I knew Robert Martin well. Indeed, I spent many hours late at night talking to him on the phone concerning coins and articles. Robert was not a prolific writer, but his knowledge of Connecticut coins was vast and he was always willing to share that knowledge with others who published the information in auction catalogs or articles. Over the course of less than a week we lost two great men and it is just and fitting that we should honor and record their numismatic accomplishments in these pages.

The final subject covered in this issue is Part II of the transcript of the 1787 Leavenworth account records. Although this article concludes the prepared transcript, the ledger continues on past what has been transcribed. We have concluded our transcript in February 1788 because Mark Leavenworth's relationship with the mint was severed when James Jarvis pur-

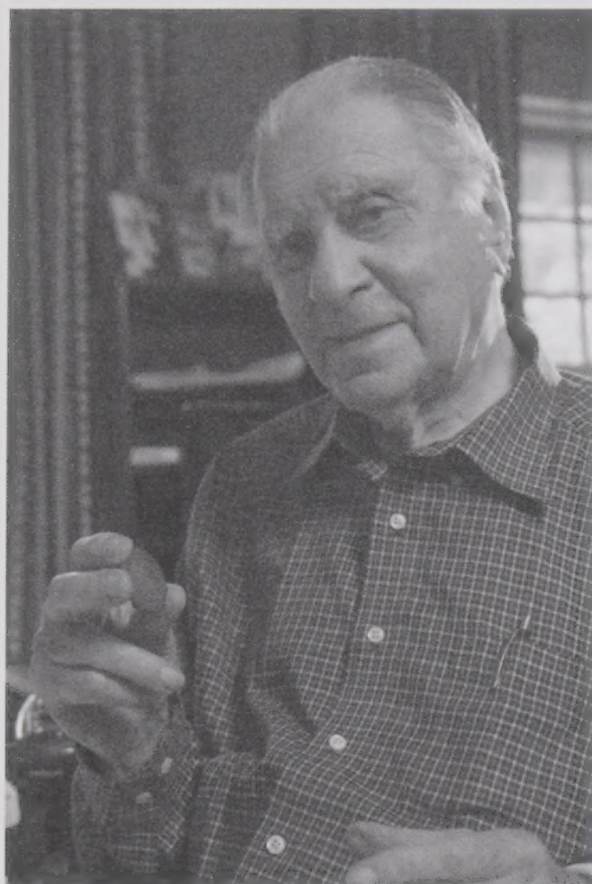
chased a majority ownership stake in the late summer of 1787. As a result, the numismatic content of the ledger dries up towards the end of 1787. Anyone wishing to see the rest of the original document may view it at the New Haven Museum where it has been carefully preserved thanks to donations from members of the Colonial Coin Collectors Club.

In 2018, we will feature many very interesting articles, including articles on Higley coppers, Auctori Plebis tokens, and an in-depth study of the Connecticut mint, to name a few. We hope you will renew your subscription and consider submitting something of your own. Thank you for your continued support of this publication.

Christopher R. McDowell,
Editor, *The Colonial Newsletter*

ERIC P. NEWMAN (1911–2017)

by
Leonard Augsburger, Vernon Hills, IL



Eric Pfeiffer Newman, 106, died at his home in Clayton, MO, on November 15, 2017. Newman was born in St. Louis on May 25, 1911, and resided in the St. Louis area his entire life, most notably in his Cecil Avenue residence for over 90 years. He was preceded in death by his bride of 75 years, Evelyn Edison Newman, who passed away at the age of 95 in 2015. Eric and Evelyn were perfectly matched, something less visible within numismatics, so blinded by Eric's extraordinary oeuvre. Still, Evelyn alternately encouraged and managed her husband's numismatic avocation, tempering his enthusiasm when necessary while at the same time enabling Eric to apply the full breadth of his remarkable intellect.

Eric's first numismatic passion was an Indian cent, and from here he branched into collecting U.S. large cents. The story is often told of Eric being given as a young lad an 1859 Indian cent by his grandfather, Adolph Pfeiffer. Sometime later, Eric found another and noted the similarity. The urge to classify is a sign of

early intelligence, and such was Eric's first "aha moment." There was no similar epiphany that led Eric to the colonial field, but he was perfectly situated to make groundbreaking contributions to the discipline. Colonial numismatic investigation requires a balance of historical, technical, and legal acumen, and the ever-curious MIT graduate with a law degree was well-placed to reinvigorate American numismatic research following a fallow period in the 1930s. Eric was deeply driven by the need to discover, to constantly renew, to attack problems from every direction possible. Although not a numismatist, Evelyn Newman approached life precisely the same way, and it is this harmonious spirit that deserves more than a little credit for Eric's numismatic success.

Evelyn's father and four brothers in 1922 founded Edison Brothers Stores, eventually the largest retailer of women's footwear in the United States. Evelyn and Eric were married in 1939, and the "family business" was even more so for the Newman family, as Eric began working for the firm part-time in the early 1940s before officially joining in 1944. Newman rose to executive vice president, while Eric and Evelyn's son Andy became the firm's chairman in 1987 and led the enterprise past the billion dollar mark. Eric's focus was on legal affairs, which for a retail operation meant managing thousands of store leases. Eric traveled heavily, and took advantage of his mobility to visit libraries and archives across the country.

Established in his marriage and career, Eric began to find more time for numismatics, and his first substantial effort was the 1949 publication of "Varieties of the Fugio Cent" in the January–February *Coin Collector's Journal*. Newman was the first to publish the obverse and reverse dies, and his numbers eventually became the "Newman numbers" for that series. Interestingly, it was not Newman himself who created the eponymous taxonomy, rather it was the cataloguers who came after that accorded him the honor. Newman was genuinely humble, always considering himself the student, though to be sure he knew better. "I'm just a country boy from Missouri," he would say, knowing full well he was anything but. Newman's work with the Fugio cents expanded to other series in the 1950s—Continental dollars, American Plantations, and Virginia halfpennies were all classified by Newman in this decade.

In 1958, Newman was accorded, along with Walter Breen, the signal honor of publication in the American Numismatic Society's *Centennial Publication*. Newman's contribution, "A Recently Discovered Coin Solves a Vermont Numismatic Enigma," was worthy of the recognition, as detailed by Joel Orosz in *Truth Seeker: The Life of Eric P. Newman*. "Detective Newman is again on the case, describing a heretofore unknown coin that explains why the series 1787 and 1788 Vermont coppers with bust facing right display the distinctively British insignia of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George in the shield on the reverse, and not the emblem of Vermont. After a thorough review of the literature regarding this phenomenon, Newman describes a counterfeit British halfpenny excavated in Stepney, CT, which can be punch-linked to the Vermont coppers, and demonstrates how the punches originally used to counterfeit the halfpence were later diverted to Vermont copper production after the June 7, 1787 Machin's Mills agreement was signed. This finding settled a century-old scholarly debate on this topic." This work was recently scanned by the Newman Numismatic Portal and is available online at <https://nnp.wustl.edu/library/book/538305>.

Newman's synthesis of the technical and historical records with respect to the Vermont coppers represents the essence of numismatic research – reconciling the literature with the object themselves, in order to create knowledge more than the sum of the parts. John Adams observed the result of surrounding one's self with numismatic objects – "if you listen, they begin speaking to you." Eric was a gifted "listener," and in 1962, with Ken Bressett, published *The Fantastic 1804 Dollar*, revealing the diplomatic origin of the coin and overturning a host of mythology and commercial speculation. While Bressett contributed the thorough pedigree research, Newman focused on the technical analysis, demonstrating the coin could not have been produced until the 1830s. Newman, ever after, considered the 1804 a fantasy unworthy of possession, though he allowed it was perfectly fine for someone to pay a 7-figure price "as long as they know what they are getting."

While regularly publishing on a variety of topics, particularly on counterfeit colonial pieces, Eric began in the 1960s what became his most extensive numismatic endeavor, *The Early Paper Money of America*. Published first in 1967 and currently in its fifth edition (2008), Eric continued to gather updates and corrections until he passed away. The work is the standard reference on early American paper money, from the various state issues through the inflationary Continental currency of the 1770s and 1780s. Newman

was greatly aided in the work by Harley Freeman, whose collection Newman purchased in 1963. The acquisition was quiet, but the cornucopia of paper compelled Newman to make sense of it all, and so he did.

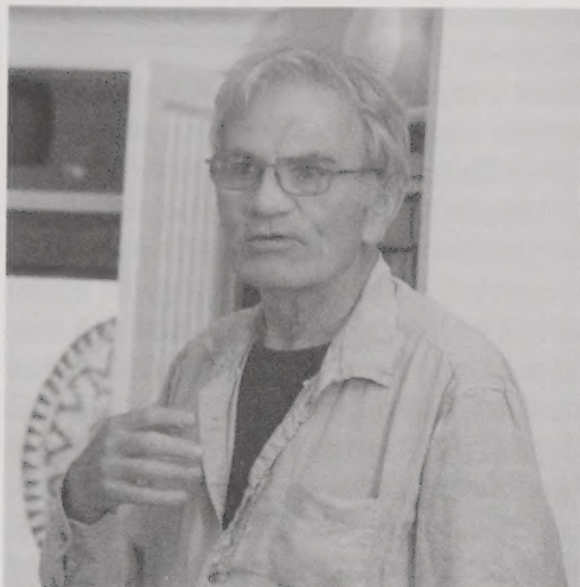
Even this ambitious undertaking was insufficient to fully occupy Newman, and in the 1966 he stepped into the fray of the fraudulent United States Assay Office of Gold (USAOG) pieces "found" by Paul Franklin and marketed by John J. Ford, Jr. The Newman/Ford letter file began in 1949, and shows the two quickly bonded over colonial coins, beginning with Immune Columbia and Inimica Tyrannis America pieces. The pair clearly shared an affinity for early American numismatics, and the sheer volume of correspondence attests to their mutual regard. The first rupture in the relationship came with the death of F. C. C. Boyd in 1958. Earlier promised some of the material from the Boyd estate, Newman saw it go to Ford instead. Newman was able to see past this, but could not forgive the USAOG matter and in 1966 permanently separated himself from Ford.

Newman remained fascinated with all things numismatic, and even the American Numismatic Society large cent recovery effort, which consumed much of his attention in the 1990s, failed to dim his enthusiasm. "Numismatics is great nevertheless," he noted in a reflective moment following years of litigation. He cast a wide net, writing on counterfeit detectors, currency printing, coin scales, and other topics, and, in the creation of the Newman Money Museum (today located on the campus of Washington University in St. Louis), challenged the public to more deeply consider the manufacture and use of coins and paper money in everyday life. His publications of course memorialize a lifetime of research, but these are necessarily complemented by the ongoing series of Heritage Auctions sale catalogs, first issued in 2013, that document Eric's lifelong pursuit of numismatic objects and their stories.

Newman's final work, "18th-Century Writings on the Continental Currency Dollar Coin," co-authored with Maureen Levine in the July 2014 *Numismatist*, investigating the earliest discussions of the Continental dollar, reminds us that mysteries persist, and that no one can solve everything. Eric had earlier written other articles on the subject, and the settlement of its origin is one of the holy grails of American numismatic research. Eric was 103 when this was published, but this was no concession, rather a reminder to the next generation to persevere and to build on the knowledge that has come before us. It is hard to imagine a more solid foundation than Eric P. Newman.

ROBERT MARTIN (1946–2017)

by

Michael Spencer; New York, NY

The colonial numismatic world was shaken on the first day of the 2017 C4 Convention in Baltimore with the news of the passing of Robert Martin, best known as the keeper of records for the Connecticut coppers series—though his interests ranged far wider than just that series, with 17th and 18th century colonial and early American coinage part of his collections, though Connecticut coppers were undoubtedly his specialty. Robert was just 71 years old and lost a valiant battle to cancer, a battle that all his friends expected him to win. Perhaps not because of the great advances that science has made on that front but because of who he was, a fighter who just wasn't going to easily give up. A proud Bronx

native, Robert had a street savvy exterior with the heart and soul of a scholar.

Born after World War II had ended, Robert saw the hopes of a “war to end all wars” denied again for his generation, and he served a tour of duty in Vietnam. Going there as basically a kid he came back an adult. As a kid he had collected things like Lincoln Wheat “pennies” in the past, but when he returned home he cast around for something more interesting, and in his search he found something that would take up much free time for the rest of his life. The Connecticut coppers series had always taken a back seat to the other state coinage series—mainly because there were a lot more varieties of them than any of the others (nearly triple those of the New Jersey coppers, the second largest series and close to ten times the number of Vermont coppers). For many, Connecticut coppers were always the “bastard cousin” of colonials, but where others saw confusion, Robert saw opportunity, and he formed one of the greatest collections of this series ever—and did it all with a modest paycheck. The secret to his success was twofold: knowledge and time.

The world of Connecticut copper collecting has had a few milestone moments. The sale of the Henry Miller collection in 1920 was the first, but that was long before any of us were collecting, even Eric Newman who passed away just a few days later. The next milestone for the series was the infamous EAC '75 sale, and Robert was around for that—as he was for every major sale afterwards, including such offerings as Garrett, Taylor, Norweb, Oeschner, Hessberg, Ford and Newman. Robert lived in the perfect time for all of these collections, some off the market for a century or more, to come up for sale. Collecting for four decades allowed Robert the chance to slowly add pieces to his collection and, when the collection warranted, to aggressively bid on a number of them when others didn't appreciate what was being offered. Living in New York, Robert also had access to the dealers who specialized in colonials that were in the area—from

Stack's and others who had storefronts there to dealers like Richard Picker, David Sonderman, Tony Terranova and Mike Ringo, all of whom furnished choice pieces for his collection.

As mentioned, specialized knowledge was a key to Robert's success, for he kept notes—voluminous notes. Auction records, price list offerings and private collection information, by variety, at length. Pretty much ANY Connecticut copper that had appeared for sale in the last century had been noted by Robert, and he was able to trace reappearances of the same coins over time. Those notes also gave Robert an edge over other collectors in spotting condition rarities—varieties that may not be rare overall but which are nearly unknown in choice condition.

Before the EAC '75 sale, Robert collected mainly by type and color/surface – a coin had to look nice to make it into his collection (indeed the phrase “a Robert Martin coin” became shorthand in the hobby amongst specialists to denote particularly clean and choice examples with great color and surfaced quality). Major types within the series were always interesting, and the combination of major type and choice condition was the initial focus of his collecting, often in duplicate or triplicate since he was wise enough to know that others would follow his example and he would have trade bait when needed. At and after the Taylor sale of 1987 Robert became more enthralled with varieties and he quickly acquired many rarities in lower and middle grades, hitting or coming very close to 300 varieties. But unlike most collectors, that didn't make him happy—because many of those coins were just not attractive to him. He played with the coins, moving them from his mainline collection to secondary boxes, but they just didn't fit. He eventually sold or traded the coins that were not really part of the vision he had for his collection and while that meant he owned fewer varieties every Connecticut copper in his set was choice and nearly all of them will end up somewhere in the Condition Census. Robert was not a “checklist collector” who needed to own them all—but he did need to really love what he owned.

He formed other collections as well. His holdings of Connecticut coppers with Painted Die Varieties on them was invaluable to him for actually figuring out who was responsible for each of the major handwriting styles, a fascinating series of talks he gave at several of the Roger Siboni summer get together events in New Jersey. He collected Massachusetts silver by die variety, including witch pieces and cut fractional pieces from the wreck of the H.M.S. *Feversham*. He held selected rarities, often in partnership with ownership trading back and forth. His library was simply amazing, and at one time he owned most of the available copies of Dr. Thomas Hall's book on 1787 Connecticut coppers—along with multiple copies of just about every other major work on colonial coins.

Walter Breen's cataloguing of the EAC '75 sale led to many discussions of the series between him and Robert, and while Robert learned much from those conversations, Walter also learned in return, much of it used in his mammoth *Encyclopedia*. When Michael Hodder emerged as the new cataloguer extraordinaire of the series (his very first attempt was the Taylor sale, which has stood the test of time) Robert was in touch with him as well, providing information when asked. Indeed, that was something he always did for other collectors and researchers. Robert wanted the information out

there, and hopefully the eventual publication of Randy Clark's book on the series will finally get that information into the hands of collectors.

Robert was a trailblazer in the way he collected Connecticut coppers and other colonials—but as with anyone who forges a path there will be others who follow, and the congestion became difficult. While the Connecticut series was unloved throughout the 1960's, 1970's and much of the 1980's (the EAC '75 sale being the only real blip of popularity until the Taylor sale a dozen years later), by the time the 1990's had rolled around there was far more competition for the series, and for colonials in general. The continued publication of *The Colonial Newsletter* and the formation of The Colonial Coin Collectors Club virtually guaranteed more collectors and the laws of supply and demand came into play. Robert was still able to add to his collection, but he bought selectively and used his knowledge to cherry-pick condition rarities. When prices jumped on the extreme rarities (including six-figure prices for a couple of the most iconic varieties) Robert could no longer compete for them—yet in those very sales that had the most expensive coins he would find a couple pieces that augmented his own collection.

Robert was unique. He had a vision for what he wanted to accomplish, and in over 40 years of collecting (and enjoying his time) he succeeded. If and when his collections are sold others will have the opportunity to become the next caregivers of these wonderful coins. While some can write large checks and acquire big chunks of this collection there will simply never be another collector that did it the way Robert did. Robert had the inspiration and he had the guts to follow through on it. He lived in the right time to put it together. Most importantly he acquired the knowledge to do so. Robert was a brilliant man and one who will be greatly missed by all who knew him. With his and Mike Ringo's earlier passing a large part of the enjoyment is gone, and numismatic semi-retirement is calling. But I look forward to being in awe of his collection once again when it does appear for sale and I will again shake my head in wonder at what Robert Martin was able to accomplish.

"NYork" Counterstamped Colonial Coins—A Mystery Partially Solved

by

Christopher R. McDowell; Cincinnati, OH

and

Robert Martin; Bronx, NY

For the past several years I have been conducting extensive research on colonial and early federal New York City engravers and silversmiths. As part of this work I came across information on the "NYork" mark, which I immediately connected to a coin Robert Martin had shown me at a C4 convention. I then found the smoking gun linking the mark to a specific silversmith and developed an elaborate theory on why Connecticut and other copper coins might be counterstamped with this mark. My theory turned out to be incorrect, but because progress is often made as much by our failures as our successes, I will restate it here:

Certain well-respected silversmiths in New York City regulated gold coin by stamping the coins with their mark; therefore, indicating to merchants that the coins could be accepted in commerce as being of full weight and purity. Some of these same silversmiths regulated copper coins in the same way. That is, they stamped them as a sign to merchants that the coins were authentic and of proper weight.

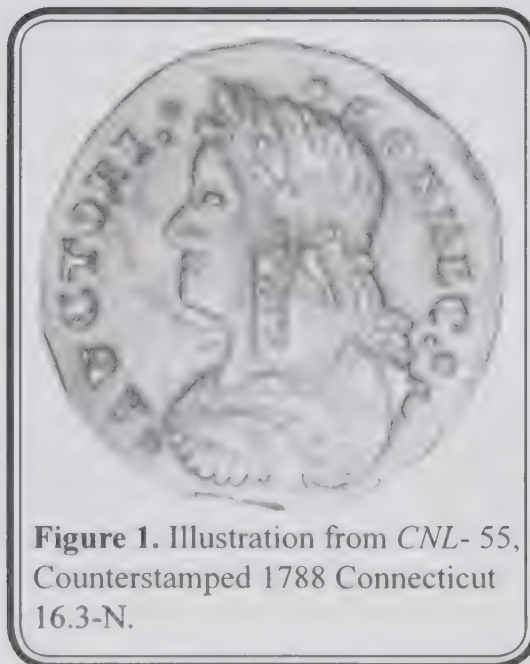


Figure 1. Illustration from *CNL-55*, Counterstamped 1788 Connecticut 16.3-N.

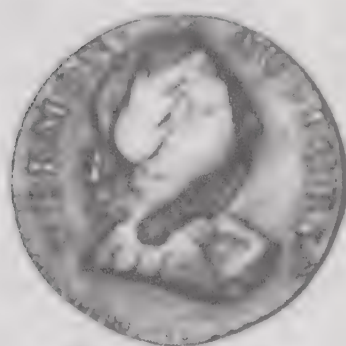
In order to prove my theory I needed to gather information on the weights of NYork counterstamped coins. My first call was to Robert Martin, who not only owned several NYork counterstamped coins, but also kept elaborate records of weights and auction appearances of Connecticut coppers. My conversation with Robert led to a year-long dialog on the subject in which Robert disproved my theory by showing me that many of the NYork counterstamped coins were significantly underweight. In addition, he demonstrated that he had already found the evidence I had discovered regarding the origin of the mark. I explained to Robert that since he had made the discovery first, I would defer to him in publishing the findings in *The Colonial Newsletter*, which he agreed to do. Unfortunately, Robert died before he could complete the task or send me anything other than his illustrations. This

article is dedicated to Robert Martin who deserves credit as a co-author.

The first mention of NYork counterstamped colonial coins in *The Colonial Newsletter* was a brief note from Harold Hauser in the July 1979 issue of *CNL-55* in which the counterstamp was mistakenly identified as V York.¹ An image of a 1788 Connecticut 16.3-N

¹ Harold Hauser, "V York Counterstamp," *CNL-55*, July 1979: 679.

accompanied Hauser's note. (Fig. 1). Hauser stated that he was aware of at least one Vermont copper with the same mark and asked readers if they were aware of others. Hauser's request for more information was answered the next year when *CNL* editor, J.C. Spilman, published two additional images of countermarked colonial coins, and, with the help of *CNL* Patron Edward R. Barnsley, correctly identified the mark as NYork, not V York.² (Fig. 2). Spilman concluded his short article by stating that it would be nice to identify the origin of the counterstamp.



Ryder 21 Obverse (1788)
Lot 567 Garrett 1 Sale
Bowers & Ruddy



Miller 16.3 of 1788
Hauser Specimen



Miller 16.1 of 1788
Lot 1380 Garrett 3 Sale
Bowers & Ruddy

Figure 2. Illustration from *CNL*-58 showing original Hauser specimen plus additional Connecticut and Vermont with NYork counterstamp.

The matter of the NYork counterstamp has not been addressed in *CNL* since 1980. Gregory Brunk, however, correctly identified the person behind the counterstamp in his outstanding 2003 book *Merchant and Privately Countermarked Coins*³—although he incorrectly identified the mark as “N.York,” with a period after the “N.” Brunk wrote, “This unusual style ‘N. York’ countermark is one of [John] Burger’s hallmark stamps, but why he used it to stamp copper coins is unknown.”⁴ Brunk then listed all the known host coins for the NYork countermark: Large Cents = 1800, 1802, 1805, 1806, 1839; Connecticut Copper = 1788; New Jersey Copper = Unk.; New York Cent = 1788; Vermont Copper = 1787, 1788; Counterfeit English Halfpenny = 1733. Brunk further provided an illustration of two NYork countermarked Vermont coppers.⁵

Robert Martin added greatly to Brunk’s research by identifying and photographing nine state coppers and one counterfeit halfpence with the John Burger script NYork countermark. Martin, perhaps the greatest student of Connecticut coppers of the second half of the twentieth century, owned three NYork countermarked Connecticut coppers: 1787 Miller 33.10-Z.8, 33.32-Z.13, and 1788 Miller 16.1-D. (Fig. 3).

² J.C. Spilman, “That ‘V York’ Counterstamp – now N York,” *CNL*-58, July 1980: 721.

³ Gregory G. Brunk, *Merchant and Privately Countermarked Coins*, (World Exonumia Press, Rockford, IL, 2003)

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 130.

⁵ John Burger could not have counterstamped the 1839 large cent mentioned by Brunk because he died on October 28, 1828.



Martin, with his wonderful archive of information, was further able to identify the Hauser specimen that appeared in *CNL-55* as being from the Oechsner sale, lot 1210, weighing 100.7 gr. Other specimens located by Martin include a Vermont 1788 Ryder 27 in the ANS collection (Fig. 4), a Connecticut 1788 Miller 9-E weighing 137.9 gr. in the Yale University collection, a Connecticut 1788 Miller 16.1-D weighing 111.9 gr. in the Garrett III sale, lot 1380; a counterfeit 1773 in the Garrett IV sale, lot 2239; and perhaps the finest example - the Connecticut 1787 Miller 29.1-p from the Taylor sale, lot 2466 (Fig. 5). A final recorded example is the Connecticut 1787 Miller 31.2-r.3 from the Ford sale, lot 338, which has a plugged hole and sold for \$950 in 2005 (Fig. 6).

By far, the most common known host coin for the countermark is Connecticut state coppers. The strongest piece of evidence connect-

ing John Burger with the NYork countermark is his spoons, which contain his surname and the mark NYork in the exact same stylized script found on the coins. (Figure 7).⁶ A comparison between the countermark on the Taylor coin (Fig. 5) and the mark on a John Burger spoon dated between 1786 and 1800 (Fig. 7) shows the script, lettering, spacing, and shape of the punch around the lettering to be the same. (Figure 8). The next closest mark comes, not surprisingly, from Burger's master, Myer Myers, from a time when he was in partnership with Benjamin Halsted. The partnership of Halsted & Myers, however, terminated in 1766, and, although it is not clear from the image in Figure 9, the mark is actually "N-York", not the script "NYork" mark used by Burger. Additionally, and the

⁶ In addition to marking spoons with NYork, John Buger is known to have also marked hollowware with both his name and the mark "NYork." See, Skinner Auction 2855B, lot 14, October 25, 2015.



Figure 4. NYork countermarked Vermont 1788 Ryder 27, weighing 129.8 gr., ANS 1944.88.1.



Figure 5. NYork countermarked Connecticut 1787 Miller 29.1-p, weighing 152.4 gr. from Taylor sale.



Figure 6. NYork countermarked Connecticut 1787 Miller 31.2-r.3, weighing 130.9 gr. from Ford sale.

punch area around the script N-York is entirely different. (Fig. 9).

John Burger was born April 12, 1747, in New York City and died there on October 28, 1828. It is believed that he was apprenticed to Myer Myers, the most talented silversmith in colonial America,⁷ and that he partnered with Myers during their period of exile from New York City between 1776 and 1783. Burger returned to New York City after the British evacuation in November 1783 and set up shop as a goldsmith at his former address of 11 Hanover Square, moving the next year to 207 Queen Street.⁸ He was a founding member of New York's Gold and Silversmith's Society, which was a collection of the finest master silversmiths in the city. These masters represented the "old guard" of the craft who learned their skills as apprentices and operated small shops where everything was made by hand. Myer Myers was elected the

⁷ Myer Myers was also the first native born Jewish master craftsman in the British Empire.

⁸ David Franks, *The New-York Directory* (Originally published in 1786). Queen Street, like many streets with English royal names, was changed. It is now known as Pearl Street and is between Wall Street and Broadway.



Figure 7. John Burger silver tablespoon dated between 1786 and 1800, Winterthur Museum object 1962.0240.935.



Figure 8. Comparison between Taylor countermarked coin (Fig. 5) and mark on John Burger silver spoon (Fig. 7).

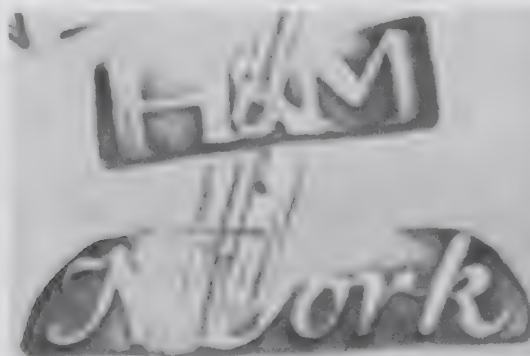


Figure 9. Myer Myers and Benjamin Halsted's mark above similar NYork script mark – the partnership, however, ended in 1766 and the area around the script is very different from the counterstamp on colonial coins

first chairman of the organization with meetings held each Wednesday at a tavern. The society was a social gathering for members who followed the pre-Revolutionary traditional techniques and hierarchical organization of the trade. Like Myers, and perhaps under his influence, most of the members adopted surname marks as well as "N York" marks prior to the Revolutionary War.⁹



Figure 10. Ephraim Brasher's block letter N-York mark. Although we are more familiar with Brasher's E.B. mark he also used a mark that included his last name N-York. Most likely this was done only on pieces crafted before the war.

According to silversmith historian David Barquist, "[t]he use of a mark spelling out the city's name was an innovation of the mid-1750s in New York that the Halsted and Myers partnership either invented themselves or adopted."¹⁰ Barquist further states that the use "of a city mark in Colonial New York implies that silver so marked was being marketed outside the locality where the silversmiths' initials marks would have been recognized."¹¹ The New York silversmiths who used the city mark after the war were generally those who also used a mark containing their full surname. It is believed that this may have been done as a form of advertisement making it easier for a person from out of town who liked a piece to locate the craftsman for a new commission.

Upon his return to New York City, Burger immediately placed an advertisement in the local newspaper stating that "[h]e regulates all gold coin, and gives cash for old gold and silver."¹² As America produced no gold coins of its own, the infant nation depended on an assortment of gold coins from other nations to engage in trade. Because these

9 David L. Barquist, *Myer Myers: Jewish Silversmith in Colonial America* (Yale U. Press, New Haven, 2001): 66; William Gilbert who was a member of the society is known to have used a mark that included "W. Gilbert" in script above the mark "New York" in block letters. Cary Dunn, another society member, used a mark with his name "C. Dunn" in block letters followed by "N. York" in block letters. These marks are nothing like Burger's script "NYork" mark. See, The Ineson-Bissell Collection in the Winterthur Museum, object numbers 1961.0933 and 1962.0240.216.

10 Barquist, *Myer Myers*: 258.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *New-York Packet* (New York City, NY Jan. 1, 1784).



Figure 11. John Burger's script "B" used to regulate gold coin.



Figure 12. Gold half Joe coin regulated by both John Burger and Ephraim Brasher.

coins were of different sizes and weights and often of questionable authenticity or purity, a cottage industry sprung up whereby honest American silversmiths would weigh and assay the coins and adjust the weight up or down to meet acceptable standards. Once this was done, the regulator would place his mark on the coin to indicate that he had personally examined it and that it was agreeable to commerce. Membership in the New York Gold and Silversmith's Society automatically granted a silversmith the *bona fides* needed to regulate gold coin.¹³ In addition to Myer Myers and John Burger, Ephraim Brasher was a member of this prestigious organization—gold coins regulated by all three men are known. Indeed, it is believed that Burger and Brasher both worked as regulators of gold coin for the Bank of New York, which explains the relative abundance of regulated gold coins bearing their marks. When regulating gold coin, Burger would use a smaller intricate script "B" mark that he generally placed over the eye of the figure on the obverse of the coin. (Fig. 11). A limitation with gold coin regulation was that after the coin changed hands a number of times, there was no guaranty that it had not been clipped or otherwise altered by a subsequent owner despite it having been previously regulated and marked. As a result, a seller might demand that it be reexamined and remarked to insure that it was still good. Consequently, a gold coin could end up with multiple marks. (Fig. 12).

Silver spoons and other items bearing a script "Burger" and script "NYork" produced after the war along with the strong similarity in appearance between known Burger NYork marks and those found on numerous copper colonial coins means he is the source of the NYork counterstamped coins, but this is only part of the mystery. The other half being why would Burger counterstamp copper coins? Robert Martin's theory was that "the script NYork mark was used as a test punch on the circulating coppers."¹⁴ My initial theory that the countermark was a form of coin regulation after New York set a weight standard for copper coins is disproven by the fact that all but two of the known extant fall below the standard weight. Perhaps Robert's theory is correct, but if we take a 1 to 3 percent survival rate for such coins, that would mean Burger did a lot of "testing" and

¹³ Gold coins regulated by New York silversmiths were not members of the society, such as Daniel Van Voorhis, are known to exist.

¹⁴ Private email correspondence with Robert Martin, April 26, 2016.

it also begs the question of why are there no known counterstamps of Burger's other marks: the script "B" or the script "Burger" on copper coins—if he needed to test one mark, would he not need to test the others? Perhaps the counterstamp marks were made out of sheer boredom or by a young apprentice practicing with his master's tools. Maybe the marks were made out of pride for New York City or as a form of advertising. Now that we know who made the counterstamp, hopefully someone can provide a definitive answer to this remaining mystery.

Reuben Stevens, a Follow Up
by
Julia H. Casey, Ballston Spa, NY

***"His chief pride was the prosperity of his country."*¹**

Having so enjoyed the revelations provided in *The Colonial Newsletter* (CNL-163), I was inspired to continue with some of the research of our editor in his illuminative article "*Slavery and Child Labor at the Connecticut Mint*." One of the names, Reuben Stevens, who was a freedman working at the Connecticut and Federal mint, caught my attention and I have since gathered enough additional documentation to construct this follow-up article.

Unfortunately, few records have been located for Reuben Stevens' life prior to his work at the mint. The evidence points to him being born in Connecticut about 1748 and serving in the Revolutionary War as either an enlisted musician (drummer) and/or perhaps as a crewman on a warship.² After he left the mint, however, Stevens lived an interesting life as an early leader in the thriving African-American community in and around New Haven and New York City. In this role, he worked with important men who provided the spark for what would become the abolitionist movement in America.

The first detail of Stevens' life after his work at the mint comes from a publication in the Connecticut Archives dated 1796:³

Negro free state. Petition of Reuben Stevens with other free Negroes showing that they wish to move from Connecticut to the unsettled parts of another state and form a settlement for themselves, families, and brethren now living in slavery as fast as they are emancipated and praying that the Assembly will purchase a township for them for which they will repay the state in about 10 years.

This is compelling for a number of reasons. First, it appears likely to be a reference to the same Reuben Stevens who is listed as an employee of the Connecticut mint in the late 1780s. Second, it shows that Stevens held a certain acumen—an ability to work within the system and also tendency toward activism and community with other free blacks. Third, it shows he was interested in the welfare of emancipated African slaves in America at a time when few were. This theme would hold true with the other bits and pieces composing the life of what we know of this remarkable man.

Stevens' petition to settle the Connecticut Western Reserve and create a sanctuary for freed slaves does not appear to have come to fruition as he is next found in the 1800

1 Death Notice of Reuben Stevens. October 20, 1818. See footnote 9.

2 Utilizing the extensive Military Records databases at Fold3.com Revolutionary War soldiers with the name of Reuben Stevens can be located i.e. Jerusha Stevens, wife of Reuben Stevens filed for a pension in Litchfield, Connecticut and Molly Stevens, wife of Reuben Stevens, filed for a pension in Greenville, New York but no documented matches have been made to the Reuben Stevens who is the subject of the present article.

3 Con. June (May Sess.) 1796. (57) Connecticut Archives, *Susquehannah Settlers Second Series, 1771–1797, Western Lands Second Series 1783–1819*, Hartford, Connecticut State Library (1944) p. 24 <http://cdmhost.com/cdm/ref/collection/p128501coll3/id/89>

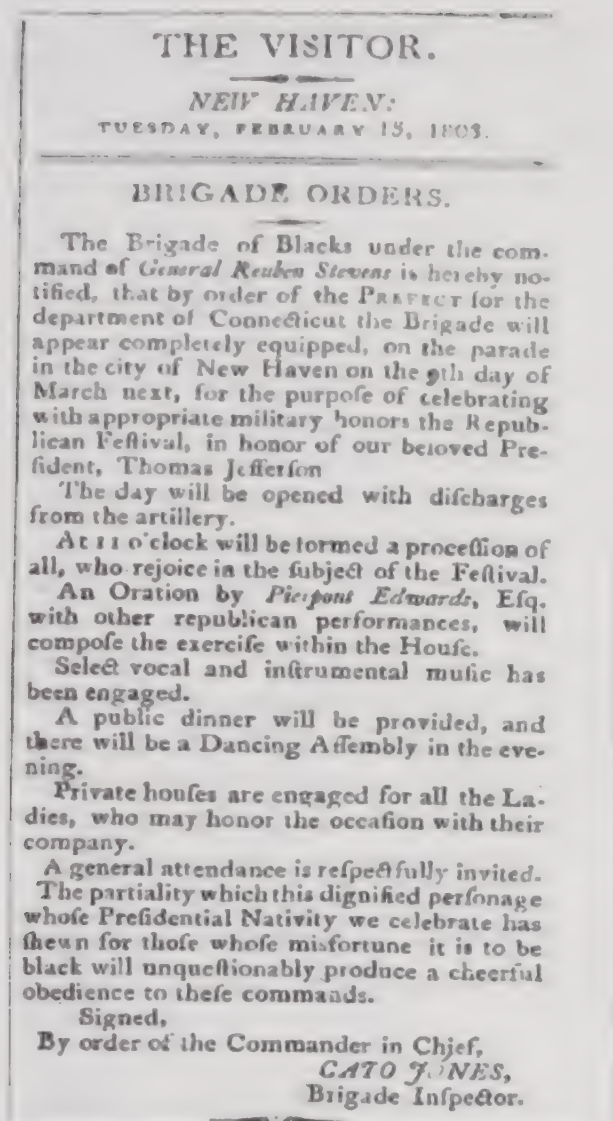


Figure 1. Newspaper article mentioning Reuben Stevens.

City of New York Census. He was listed as the head of a household composed of 3 "Other Free Persons" and appears again in 1810, but now his household contains only 2 "Other Free Persons."⁴

The name "Reuben Stevens" can also be found in New York City Directories⁵ during this time:

1802: Stevens, Reuben, boatman, Second;
 1804, 1805: Stevens, Reuben, grocer, Orange;
 1806: Stevens, Reuben, drum-major, Orange;
 1807: Stevens, Reuben, drum-major, Ryn-dex near Grand;
 1808: Stevens, Reuben, drum-major, 83 Nassau;
 1809: Stevens, Reuben, mariner, Anthony;
 1811: Stevens, Reuben 237 William;
 1812–1816: Stevens, Reuben Pump c. Mott;
 1817: Stevens, Reuben Pump c. Mulberry;
 1818–1819: Stevens, Reuben 57 Mulberry.

In 1803 he was not listed in the New York City Directory. However, a "General Reuben Stevens" was referenced in a notice published in a New Haven newspaper that year (Fig. 1).⁶

No resources have been located on African-American history that discuss the "Brigade of Blacks" in New Haven during this era. It is likely that this brigade was composed of black veteran soldiers of the Revolutionary War. The mystery of how Reuben Stevens came to be known as "General" has not been determined but possibly it could be an

4 Ancestry.com databases. U.S. Federal Census Collection. Census records place Reuben Stevens in the Sixth Ward of New York City.

5 Fold3.com databases. City Directories—New York.

6 February 15, 1803 *Visitor* (New Haven, Connecticut) Volume: I Issue: 16 Page: 124 (GenealogyBank.com) Note: Of particular interest is the touted "Oration by Pierpont Edwards, Esq." Among the many accomplishments of Pierpont Edwards is his partnership in "The Company for Coining Coppers" established November 12, 1785. He sold his interest to James Jarvis in April, 1786. See, Christopher R. McDowell, *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*, (C4, 2015): 93, 95. Cato Jones is listed in various references as a black crewman on the *General Putnam* warship out of New London, CT in 1778. For one source, see: *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution* (Kaplan/Kaplan, 1989) p. 44. As of this writing I could not find any additional information about him.

honorary officer rank unique to the "Brigade of Blacks."⁷ In any case, Stevens was identified as a leader of this organization which had enough respect and political clout to have former Connecticut mint shareholder Pierpont Edwards as a speaker at their event. Edwards served as a member of the Continental Congress that ratified the Constitution and would later be appointed by President Jefferson to serve on the federal bench in New Haven.

On October 5, 1818, Reuben Stevens composed his Last Will and Testament:⁸

In the name of God Amen. I Reuben Stephens of the City of New York Shop Keeper being of sound mind & memory but very sick and weak & considering the uncertainty of this transitory life do therefore make and ordain this my Last Will and Testament That is to say. First I give my body to the earth to be buried in a decent manner at the discretion of my Executors hoping forgiveness of all my sins thru the merits of a crucified redeemer & admission to his heavenly kingdom.

Secondly after all my just debts are paid and discharged I give and bequeath all my property consisting of a certain dwelling house situated in Mulberry St. built in Copartnership with John Goff on the Lease ground together with my stock & trade household furniture & Clothing together with all debts & Rents due or becoming due to me to my well beloved wife Anna Stephens. To have & to hold to her & her heirs forever.

Likewise I make & ordain John I. Johnson Tavern Keeper & Robt. Y Sidney Tallow Chandler Executors of this my Last Will & Testament utterly revoking disallowing & annulling all previous Wills by me made.

To witness whereof I have set hereunto my hand & seal this day 5th of October in the year of our Lord 1818.

***Ruben (His) Stevens
(Mark)***

Upon his death on October 19, 1818, the following notice was published in at least two prominent New York City newspapers and was even excerpted in a newspaper in Salem, Massachusetts.⁹ This notice is very unusual and quite special. Notices from early newspapers for any reported death were rarely detailed with more than just a few words.

⁷ The first African-American to be commissioned as an officer in any branch of the U.S. Armed Forces was 2LT Henry Flipper in 1877.

⁸ Record of Wills, 1665–1916; Index to Wills, 1662–1923 (New York County); Author: New York. Surrogate's Court (New York County); Probate Place: New York, New York. Source: InformationAncestry.com. New York Wills and Probate Records, 1659–1999 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015. Original data: New York County, District and Probate Courts. Note that John I. Johnson & Robert Y. Sidney were also witnesses to the execution of the Last Will & Testament of Reuben (Stevens) Stephens. ⁹ October 20, 1818, *Columbian* (New York, New York) Volume: IX Issue: 2641 Page: 3 and October 20, 1818, *National Advocate* (New York, New York) Volume: VI Issue: 1809 Page: 2. Also briefly reported: October 24, 1818, *Essex Register* (Salem, Massachusetts) Volume: XVIII Issue: 86 Page: 3 "In New York, Major Reuben Stevens, a man of colour, active in the Revolution, and a worthy man. The Musicians of colour attended his funeral." (Source: GenealogyBank.com)

The death of an African-American to be noticed in such a manner is extraordinary—this speaks to the quality of this man and the life Reuben Stevens lived:

Yesterday morning, aged 70 years, Major REUBEN STEVENS, a man of color. He was a respectable revolutionary character, and in all the struggles of America for independence he took an active share. His chief pride was the prosperity of his country. He was a man of exemplary character—an affectionate husband—a good neighbor, and a steady friend. The Musicians of color are requested to attend his funeral, in their usual mourning, and his friends in general, at 4 o'clock, this afternoon, from his late residence, no 37 Mulberry-street, and show their respects to the remains of one who was worthy to be called their friend.

Interestingly his rank is now “Major” which could be a reference to his occupation listing as “drum major” in the New York directories. Another thought is that he obtained the rank of “General” within the New Haven (“Brigade of Blacks”) contingent and “Major” within the New York City (“Musicians of Color”) organization.

His death is also indexed in the New York City Municipal Deaths as “Ruler Stephens” died October 19, 1818, Age 70. Born in Connecticut and died in Manhattan with an address at 50 Mulberry St. He was buried in the Asbury African cemetery.¹⁰

To understand more of the life of Reuben Stevens in the early years of our young country we can use the available excerpts of his life to flesh out his world. The named executors in his will, John I. Johnson and Robert Y Sidney (they both later renounced this honor, by document filed March 19, 1819¹¹) show up in a notice in *The Evening Post*, November 8, 1813:¹²

AFRICAN LIBERTY FOREVER

The Electors of Colour, friendly in the cause of LIBERTY, PEACE and COMMERCE, will please to attend a general meeting at Johnston's Tavern, 122 Bancker-street, this evening at 7 o'clock, on business of extraordinary importance; and also those of the colour friendly to the glorious cause will please to attend. By order of the General Committee of the Electors of Colour.

ROBT. Y. SIDNEY, Sec'ry.

Robert Y. Sidney is best known today for this “Anthems” composed “For the National Jubilee of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, January 1st, 1809”¹³ One can imagine

10 New York, New York City Municipal Deaths, 1795–1949." Database. FamilySearch. <http://FamilySearch.org> : 14 June 2016. New York Municipal Archives, New York.

11 Executors Renunciations, 1792–1890, Index, 1830–1912; Author: New York. Surrogate's Court (New York County); Probate Place: New York, New York Ancestry.com. New York, Wills and Probate Records, 1659–1999 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015. Original data: New York County, District and Probate Courts. Note: Anna (Stevens) Stephens was appointed Administratrix of the Estate of Reuben (Stevens) Stephens on March 24, 1819.

12 *The Evening Post* (New York, New York) 08 Nov 1813, Page 3 (Newspapers.com)

13 See http://abolition.nypl.org/content/docs/text/sidney_oration.pdf at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library “ANTHEMS, Composed by R.Y. Sidney For the National Jubilee of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, January 1st, 1809” (Robert Y. Sidney)

Reuben Stevens was an active participant in these festivities and, having risen from slavery himself, was a staunch abolitionist.

National Jubilee of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.¹⁴

The undersigned committee of arrangements, appointed by the general meeting of the people of Colour, for the celebration of the National Jubilee, most respectfully inform the public that they will assemble at Liberty Hall, on Monday morning, January 2d, 1809 at 9, o'clock, and march in procession if the weather will permit, with the different societies, with their badges and banners, accompanied with a band of music, through Anthony-street, down Broadway, to the Lyceum in Warren-street, where an Oration will be delivered and an anthem sung, suitable to the occasion. A collection will then be made, and the surplus if any, will be given to the Manumission society. After the service is over, the procession will form again, and march through Beekman-street, down Pearl street, up Wall-street, up Broadway to Liberty Hall, and dismiss. Every exertion has been made to fulfill the intentions of their constituents, and to shew their gratitude in the most public manner, for so great a blessing; and they cannot but lament that a division should exist, and indulge the flattering hope all dissensions will cease.

JOHN ROBINSON,
WM. WILTSHIRE,
PETER BANE,
JUPITER BURNS,
JOHN BOLT,
SAMUEL CLAWS,
ALEX'r SUTLIFF,
ROBERT ASH,
JOHN T. TATE,
AARON CONNER,
THOMAS SMITH,

*Committee of
Arrangements*

And

SAMUEL REED.
ROBERT Y. SIDNEY, *Secretary*

"In 1788 Wedgwood shipped a packet of cameos to (Benjamin) Franklin, who had a keen understanding of the power of images and symbols in political campaigns. Among abolitionists and antislavery sympathizers, the cameos quickly became an important fashion statement, and were worn as pins, bracelets, and hair ornaments. They were even used to decorate snuffboxes."¹⁵ This symbolism was at the forefront of the Abolitionist movement in the decades to come. A variation design, with the legend "Am I Not a Woman & a Sister" notably appearing on the 1830s US Hard Times Token (HT-81).

¹⁴ *Commercial Advertiser* (New York, New York) December 30, 1808 Volume: XI Issue: 4238 Page: 2 (GenealogyBank.com). Note: the name Samuel Claws may actually be Samuel Glass.

¹⁵ Alan Houston, *Benjamin Franklin & the Politics of Improvement* (Yale University Press, 1988), 214–5



Figure 2. Am I not a Man and a Brother medallion modelled by William H. Hackwood, Wedgwood, Etruria, England, c. 1786, tinted stoneware—Brooklyn Museum. Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.*

One has to wonder if Reuben Stevens was aware of Benjamin Franklin's abolitionist advocacy when he was employed by the mint which produced the Fugio "Franklin Cent."

A man named Joseph Sidney is also known for his Oration given at the Jubilee celebration in January, 1809.¹⁶ He is likely a relation to Robert Y. Sidney but I have not been able to locate many personal details about these men.¹⁷

The end of American participation in the slave trade was marked by annual celebrations in black communities throughout the North. In festivities that sometimes included parades and banquets, a commemorative sermon was a regular feature. The several published sermons marking the occasion are important documents in which black community leaders ponder their

role in America and their relationship to Africa. These documents also tell up of the organizational life of the early black communities, and contain important incidental writings, such as Sydney's (sic) "Anthems for the National Jubilee of the Abolition of the Slave trade," appended to this sermon.¹⁸

In August & September, 1814, multiple newspapers across the country reported on the "Defense of New York"¹⁹ under the looming British threat. Of those offering service was "Joseph Sidney with 150 colored men" as well as "Asbury African Church, about 70

*https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Am_I_not_a_Man_and_a_Brother,_medallion_modelled_by_William_H._Hackwood,_Wedgwood,_Etruria,_England,_c._1786,_tinted_stoneware_-_Brooklyn_Museum_-_DSC09289.JPG.

16 See http://abolition.nypl.org/content/docs/text/sidney_oration.pdf Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, "An Oration Commemorative of the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the United States, delivered before the Wilberforce Philanthropic Association, in the city of New York on the second of January, 1809" (Joseph Sidney)

17 Robert Y. Sidney is listed in New York City Municipal Deaths (New York, New York City Municipal Deaths, 1795–1949." Database. FamilySearch. <http://FamilySearch.org> : 20 March 2015. New York Municipal Archives, New York.) with a death date of August 17, 1821, at age 38 (est. year of birth 1783). He was buried in the African Burial Ground. A Joseph Sidney is listed in the same resource with a death date of July 20, 1825, at age 54 (est. year of birth 1771). He was buried in Potter's Field.

18 *An African American Miscellany Selections from a Quarter Century of Collecting, 1970–1995* (The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1996), 21

19 See for example: August 22, 1814 *Pennsylvania Correspondent, and Farmers' Advertiser* (Doylestown, Pennsylvania) Page: 3 (GenealogyBank.com)

men."²⁰ Demonstrating that after twenty-seven years "We Are One" would remain the spirit of the day. This also lends credibility to the notion that the Brigade of Blacks that met in New Haven in 1803 was an actual militia unit led by Reuben Stevens.

It is my hope that this brief glimpse into the life of "Reuben Stevens (negro)" after his employ at the Connecticut mint has been edifying. It is hard to imagine a more fitting person striking a Fugio copper.

²⁰ Note this is probably Reuben Stevens' church since he was buried in the church cemetery. See: *A History of the Churches, of All Denominations, in the City of New York From the First Settlement to the Year 1846* (Greenleaf, 1846) p. 323 "It was in the year 1813, that Thomas Sipkins, William Miller, and some others separated from the Zion Church, and purchased a house of worship, standing on Elizabeth street, near Walker, which had been built by a Congregational Church, under the ministry of Mr. Townley, where public worship was commenced, and a church formed, which was called the "Asbury Church."

The Newman Numismatic Portal

by

Bruce Smith; Zanesfield, OH

"I have long wanted to make the literature and images of numismatics, particularly American Numismatics, available to everyone on a free and forever basis."

-Eric P. Newman, December 2014

Eric Newman's contributions as one of the leading numismatists of the past century are admirably documented in the recently published biography *Truth Seeker: The Life of Eric P. Newman*.¹ One of Mr. Newman's most significant and lasting contributions may be the creation of the Newman Numismatic Portal (NNP).

In November of 2016, Eric's son Andy told a group of researchers gathered in Baltimore how his father had been impressed by the speed with which he was able to use internet resources to translate a group of documents from German to English for his father. Having long had a goal to make numismatic literature and images available to all, Eric immediately saw the internet as a means to that end.

With a commitment of two million dollars from the Eric P. Newman Numismatic Education Society (EPNNES) the Portal was born and has to date seen the hosting of over 17,000 documents. Andy Newman reported at the Baltimore meeting that the Newman family is pleased with the progress of NNP and looks forward to its continued impact within the numismatic field. They are particularly encouraged by the community of contributors that has materialized to make numismatic information freely available to all. The ongoing enthusiasm of the numismatic community, and variety and stature of the many content contributors, greatly encourages EPNNES to continue funding the Newman Portal.

The Portal is housed at Mr. Newman's *alma mater*, Washington University in St. Louis. The staff of archivists, researchers, and writers is headed by Leonard Augsburger. Scanning operations, which began in July of 2015, are carried out at both Washington University and the American Numismatic Society (ANS) in New York. The site launched publicly in March of 2016, and in May of 2016 full text search became available.

How It Works

The objectives of the NNP are to provide a balanced mix of reference categories, to provide text search, to serve as a repository for American numismatic references, (especially those out of copyright), to provide free archival services for individuals and organizations [as of October 2017 there are over 50 partners], and to serve as a host for a community of users and content providers. The Portal was created to be a growing, changing resource for numismatic research. It is not designed to be the only resource for numismatic information. The focus of the Portal is American numismatics, but as it grows the site may become more inclusive. It will be responsive to the needs of its users. Numismatics International and the Armenian Numismatic Society have contributed

¹ Leonard Augsburger, Roger W. Burdette & Joel Orosz, ed. James Halperin (Ivy Press, Inc., 2017).

content. Harlan Berk, noted primarily as a dealer in ancient coins, has donated all of the firm's catalogs.

The Portal can be thought of as a retail outlet. It is the front door. The home page provides access to books, people, archives (containing manuscripts, and correspondence), an encyclopedia, a blog, auction records, and periodicals (including fixed price lists and serial publications). In addition there are both basic and advanced search options.

It is not necessary to create an online identity to make use of the NNP. The NNP is strongly committed to free full content access without login. From the home page (figure 1), users are given the choices described above. Books, people, auction houses, and periodicals can be selected and are all indexed alphabetically. A Google search for "Newman Numismatic Portal" is one way to locate the site on the internet, which can be found at <https://nnp.wustl.edu/>.



Figure 1. The NNP Home Page.

Typing "Libertas Americana" into the site's search bar on the home page returns, as shown in figure 2, 1,851 results categorized and ordered by: Archives (20), Auction Catalogs (838), Auction Lots (1), Books (95), Periodicals (875), and People (22). Each of the categories is accessible independently.

The Internet Archive is the Newman Portal warehouse; the back door. Here are found libraries, both private and institutional, content created by individuals and organizations, and public domain aggregators such as Google Books. The total number of texts exceeds ten million. A portion of this repository is the scans of the NNP acting in partnership with the Internet Archive (figure 3). A search from the Newman Numismatic Portal covers only the portal's documents. To access the resources of the entire Internet Archive, a search must begin there. In addition, Google books is now starting to index some of

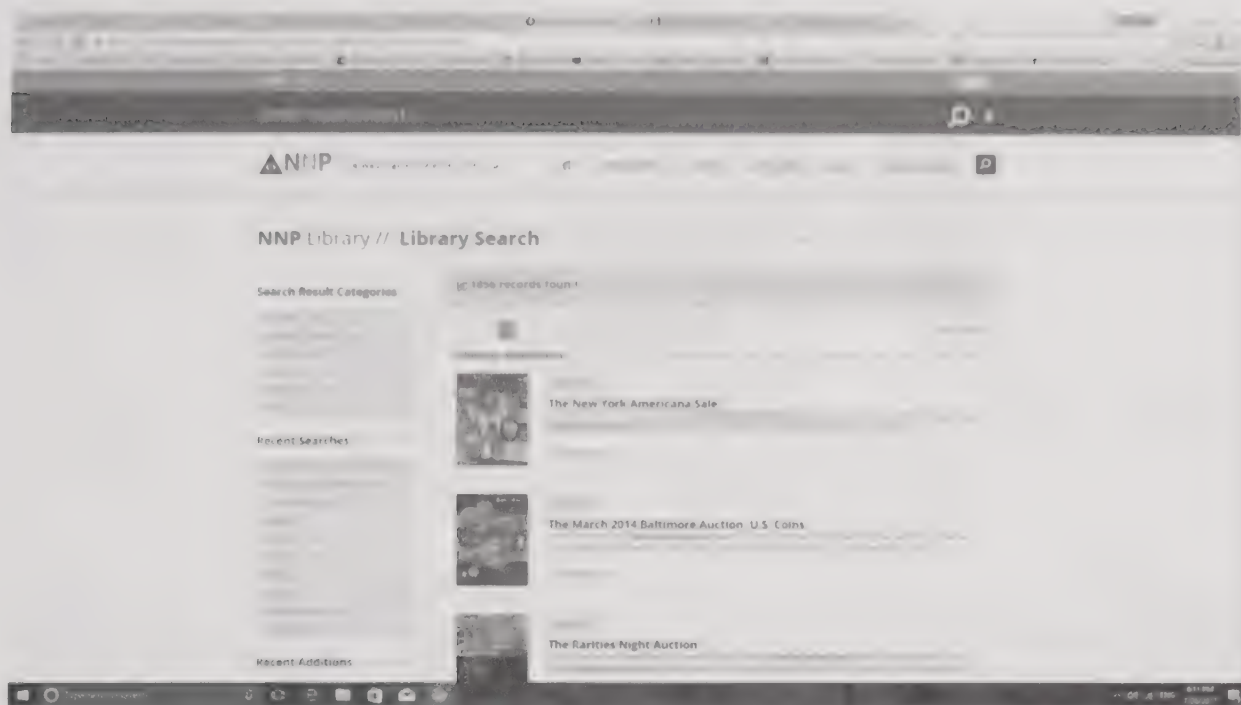


Figure 2. "Libertas Americana" search results.

the Newman Portal material on Internet Archive. Searches on Google often pull up references to Newman Portal documents stored on Internet Archive.

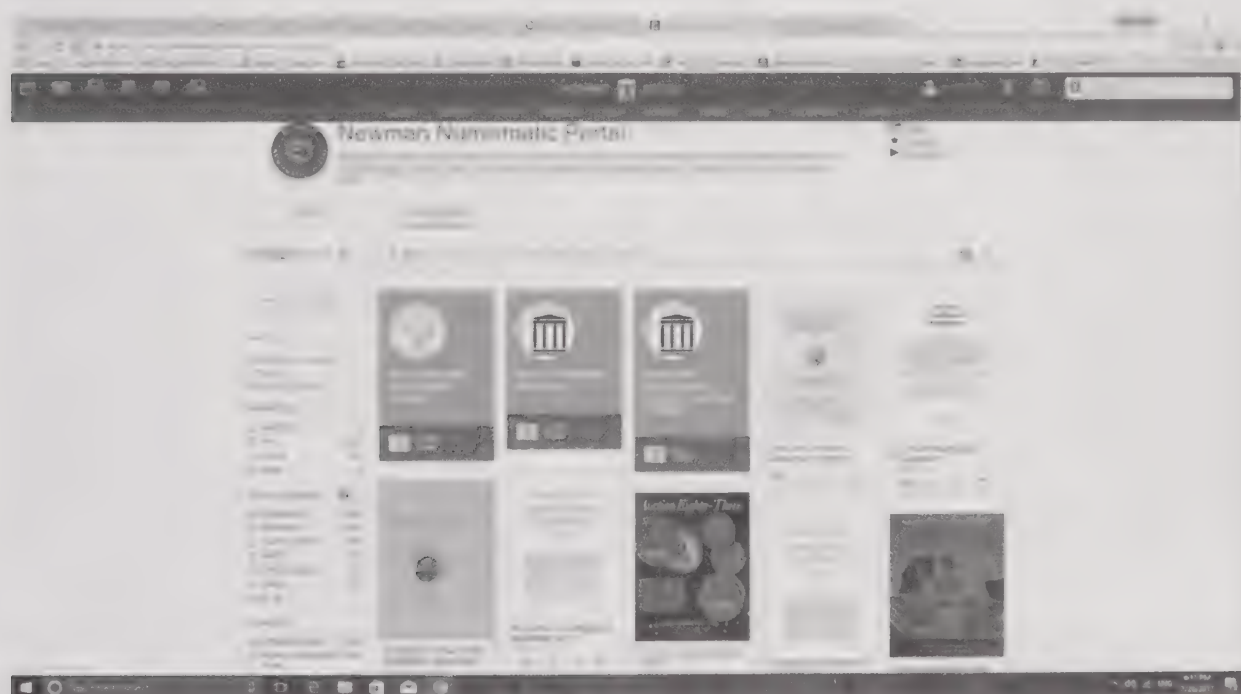
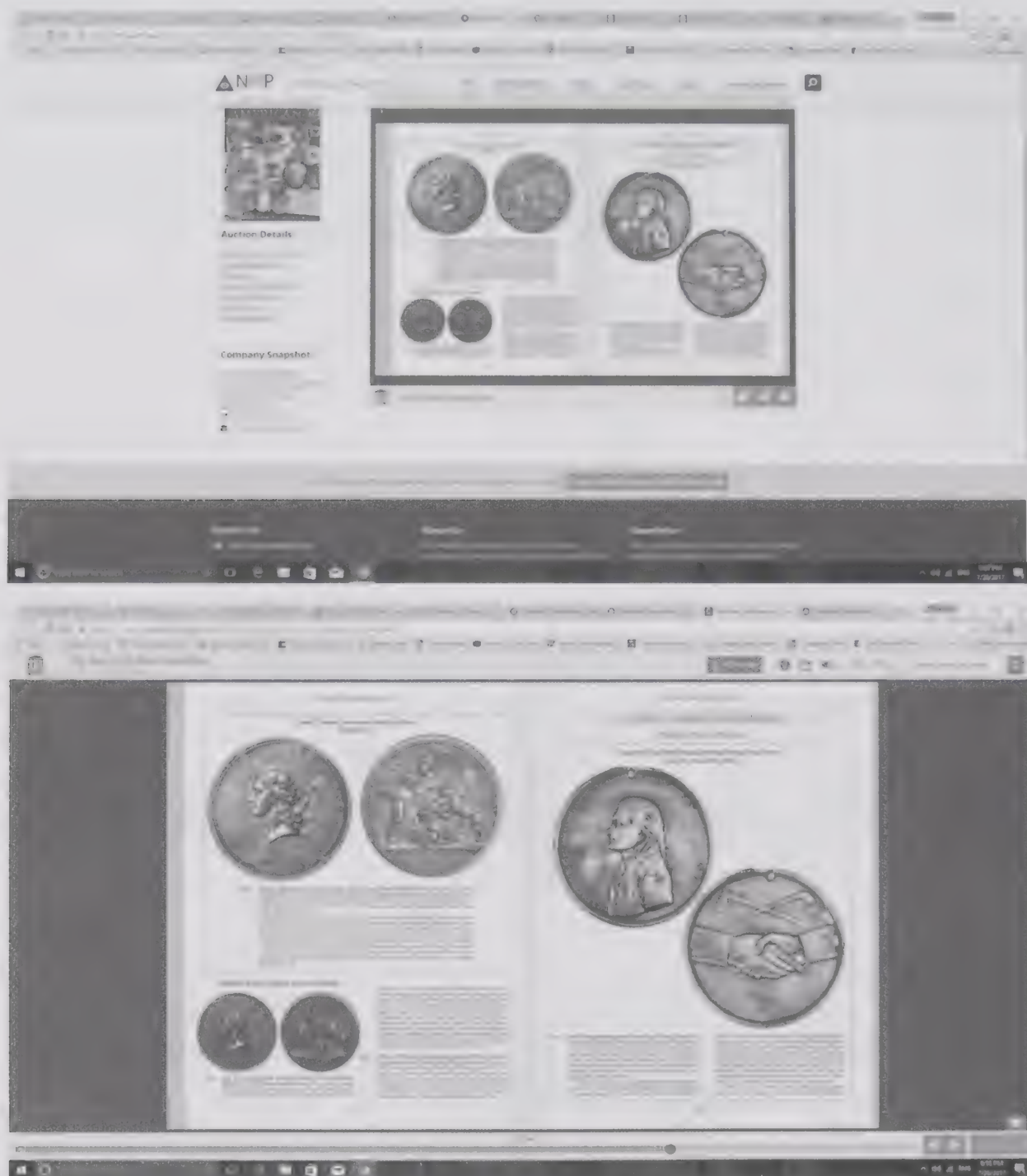


Figure 3. The NNP as viewed on the Internet Archive.

Clicking the Internet Archive link while viewing in the NNP will take the user to an Internet Archive view of the same document (Figs. 4 and 5).



Figures 4–5. NNP and Internet Archive views of the same auction catalog.

Important material—

For researchers of colonial numismatics important available resources include:

Connecticut coppers:

Dr. Hall's manuscripts on Connecticut copper varieties;
Burdette Johnson's 1936 inventory of Dr. Hall's coppers;
EPN die interlock chart (1963).

New Jersey coppers:

Walter Breen's manuscript on New Jersey coppers (1960);
EPN/William Anton Jr. correspondence (1961–1988);
Maris, *A Historic Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey*, 1881;
Maris Biography (by Roger Moore, M. D. CNL 1997);
Maris Plate 1881 (36 MP camera used).

Early American currency:

Harley Freeman inventory and correspondence 1943–973 (collection acquired by EPN 1963–964);
Eric P. Newman's *The Early Paper Money of America*, 5th edition.

Medals:

Joe Levine catalogs;
MCA Advisory (1998–2013).

The NNP has gathered numerous important public domain references which are found in many collector libraries as well as being available on sites such as Google Books. These are now in one location and are text searchable.

Book Titles include:

Betts, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*;
Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medalists*;
Nelson, *The Coinage of William Wood*;
Crosby, *Early Coins of America*;
Felt, *An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*;
Loubat, *Medallic History of the United States*;
Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*.

Additional material related to Early American numismatics include:

The C4 Newsletter (1993–2011);
The Colonial Newsletter (1960–2016);
The Colonial Newsletter Online (1995–1997);
Penny Wise (1967–2013);
ANS Coinage of the Americas series (1985–2009);
ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs (1921–2009);
ANS Museum Notes (1946–1986);
American Journal of Numismatics, series 1 (1866–1924);
American Journal of Numismatics, series 2 (1989–2008);
United States Mint Annual Director's Reports;
NARA (National Archives and Records Administration) papers;
Indices to numismatic content in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical society (1791–date).

Copyright

The issues of copyright and the impact of the digital world on book sales and values are complex and not the focus here. However, some copyright issues considered by the NNP are these:

Works published in the United States prior to 1923 are in the public domain. Copyright survives an author's death by seventy years.

"Orphan" material—material whose copyright holder is unknown or unlocated—is publishable with appropriate notice.

Copyright holders may open their content for display on NNP. Many regional and specialty clubs have done so, although some hold back their most recent issues out of concern for the effect it might have on membership recruitment or circulation. The ANS has made virtually all of their material available. *The Colonial Newsletter* is available up to 2017. Starting in 2017, *CNL* is on a three year delay.

Materials currently under copyright may be scanned for search and limited display without permission of the copyright holder as this is considered fair use for educational purposes.

An agreement between the American Numismatic Association (ANA) and the NNP limits the ANA publication, *The Numismatist*, to search only (excepting the first six volumes). Newman Portal search results will direct users to the ANA's online copy of *The Numismatist*, which is accessible by ANA members. This means that access to any *Numismatist* articles from 1894 on is available only to ANA members, and only through the ANA web site. This is an unfortunate situation, as one would think that opening access to at least a part of this material would benefit the entire numismatic community and have no impact on ANA membership or current circulation of *The Numismatist*. Hopefully, this matter will be rectified in the future and the ANA will open up access to its past publications.

Contemporary newspapers are also not available on the NNP. This is due to the fact that many historical newspapers are hosted on paysites. An alternative is to locate a research library equipped with ProQuest. The Library of Congress, through its "Chronicle America project, provides free access to newspapers dating from 1789–1925.

Current Status

The NNP regularly provides updates of material newly made available. In addition to notice on the website, Facebook and The E-sylum carry news of recent developments. The NNP front page lists recent collection additions and features a blog with entries by NNP team member John Kraljevich and NNP project coordinator Leonard Augsburg.

As of the fall of 2017 over one and a half million pages have been scanned. The document count is over seventeen thousand. Over two thousand users access the site monthly.

At this time, users do not have the ability to bookmark items for ease of access upon return visits, but this feature is planned for the future.

Technology Used

Scanning is done via TableTop scribe supplied by Internet Archive. (Fig. 6). There are two cameras which can shoot images at 36 megapixels (600 dpi for an 8.5 x 11 document). Two pages are photographed at a time, the page is turned, and then another two pages. The images are automatically forwarded to Internet Archive where the "republishing" process occurs. At this stage they crop and sharpen images, and post them to the Portal collection on Internet Archive. It is all quite seamless from the point of view of NNP, documents are simply scanned, and then they show up on Internet Archive.



Figure 6. TableTop scribe machine used to image documents For NNP.

The ANS has provided physical space for an onsite scanning machine, and ANS librarian David Hill pulls items from the ANS library for scanning and prepares metadata for documents scanned onsite. InternetArchive associate John Graffeo, who was previously employed by the ANS, performed scanning duties until moving on to other IA projects. InternetArchive associate Lara Jacobs now handles scanning. In addition, scanning done at the ANS is performed by the Internet Archive. Some large format material from the ANS library has been scanned by Internet Archive at their Princeton, NJ satellite center.

The ANS has also contributed over 4,000 American auction sale catalogs to the portal.

Summary

The Newman Numismatic Portal offers the researcher unparalleled access to published numismatic research. Material is being continually added, so that the Portal is the place to begin any research project. The importance of having this material available to a user at a single site cannot be overestimated. The portal, however, does not offer the social and political material often needed by the colonial numismatics researcher. Contemporary non-numismatic primary source material such as newspapers, almanacs, letters, and journals are not currently the province of the NNP. Regardless, the vision and sponsorship of Eric P. Newman, the generosity of organizations such as the ANS and firms such as Stack's Bowers make the Portal possible. It is now up to the numismatic community to make full use of this gift.

Potential Sources for Colonial Coinage Information: The New Haven Museum
by
Jay Knipe; New Haven, CT

While I have collected Pre-Federal coins for several years, I was never very concerned with the rich history associated with their manufacture, distribution and circulation. After reading Christopher McDowell's recently published book covering Abel Buell and the coinage of Connecticut coppers,¹ I was inspired to locate and read some of the original documentation pertaining to Connecticut coinage. The primary references (generally to the *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* in the Connecticut State Archives) cited by early chroniclers of Connecticut coinage² are housed in the Connecticut State Library.³ However, copies of these references are also kept in the New Haven Museum.⁴ Since I reside in greater New Haven, I decided, for convenience sake, to view these sources at that location. From a search of articles covering Connecticut/New Haven coinage published in both *The Colonial Newsletter* and the *C4 Newsletter*, I found only one paper which cited documents obtained from the New Haven Museum (New Haven Colony Historical Society at the time of that writing).⁵ The apparent lack of cited reference material housed in the New Haven Museum made me curious if some material had been overlooked.

A search of the archived documents listed on the New Haven Museum website revealed two items of potential interest. The first, a 1787 document⁶ is described as:

"Company for Coining Copper. Ledger, 1787-1791. In 1785, the Connecticut Assembly authorized a company specific for the purpose of coining pennies. This "Company for Coining Coppers" employed Abel Buell to manage the operation in New Haven. Buell and others were stockholders in the company. This ledger contains accounts concerning the stamping and sale of coppers in 1787 and 1788; entries after that concern the sale of rum, brandy and other merchandise, since the copper company had failed. The ledger is in several hands which have not been identified"

1 Christopher R. McDowell, *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*, (C-4, Sheridan Books, Ann Arbor, MI, 2015).

2 Sylvester Crosby, *The Early Coins of America* (Reprint, Quarterman Publications, 1983); Henry Bronson, *Historical Account of Connecticut Currency, Continental Money and the Finances of the Revolution*, (Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. 1, p. 171, 1865)

3 Connecticut State Library, 231 Capitol Avenue, Hartford, CT 06106 (www.ctstatelibrary.org).

4 New Haven Museum, 114 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, CT 06510 (www.newhavenmuseum.org). The Museum was founded in 1862 as The New Haven Colony Historical Society. The holdings of its Whitney Library exceed 30,000 volumes and 320 manuscript collections, as well as architectural drawings, maps, broadsides, newspapers, and other items.

5 Norman Bryant, "The New Haven Mint", *CNL*, Serial No. 50, Vol. 16, No. 3, November 1977, p. 614. This paper chronicled Mr. Bryant's efforts working with the New Haven Historical Society to obtain information concerning the location and possible operations of the New Haven mint (thought to be located on the grounds of Samuel Broome's home).

6 Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS 83, *Accounting Book, Journal and Ledger Miscellany*, 1725-1912, Oversized Item No. 8.

The second, a document from 1788⁷ is described as:

"Company for Coining Copper. Ledger. 1788. A more "official" ledger than Item #8, kept by Jeremiah Platt and recording shipments to the Federal Mint, wages at the Copper Works in Hamden, and other expenses."

It should be noted that neither of these documents is a "ledger," but rather a "day book" or "journal," as entries were not listed under individual accounts as debits and credits, but rather recorded in a chronological order.⁸

These documents are apparently each part of what once were larger volumes. The 1787 book is partially bound, with the top several pages loose; the entire document is quite fragile. Entries in this work begin on February 12, 1787 and continue into early 1791. But, as the Museum's web-description suggests, entries relevant to copper coinage in New Haven end on May 12, 1788 (there are only three entries for 1788). Some pages appear to be numbered, but the numbers are incomplete and nearly illegible. The 1788 document was clearly part of a larger volume; the extant pages are hand-numbered beginning with page 61 (February 26, 1788) and conclude with page 88 (December 27, 1788). The pages have been removed from their original enclosure and now individually encased in 3-holed plastic sleeves contained in a binder. It seems quite likely that the 1788 document is the same as that alluded to by Randy Clark.⁹

With the help of Museum staff, I photographed all pages from the 1788 document (February 26 to December 27), and those from February 12, 1787 to May 12, 1788 from the 1787 book. The museum allowed me to use a photographic copy stand equipped with lights, to which I mounted the camera (Canon EOS 600D, 18 MP, with a Sigma 108 mm F 1.8 macro lens; high quality .JPG images captured).

7 Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS 83, *Accounting Book, Journal and Ledger Miscellany*, 1725-1912, Oversized Item No. 9.

8 Christopher Densmore, "Understanding and Using Early Nineteenth Century Account Books", *The Midwestern Archivist*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1980, p. 5.

9 Randy Clark, "Jarvis' Delivery of Federal Fugio Cents", *C-4 Newsletter*, Vol. 10, No. 4, Winter 2010, p. 5. This paper indicates that "A 1788 dated account book was recently located from the Broome/Platt/Jarvis consortium related to coining of Federal and Connecticut Copper." (*Editor's note—it is the same document*).

TRANSCRIPT OF THE LEAVENWORTH ACCOUNT BOOK FOR 1787-1788

(Part II: February 12, 1787 to February 1, 1788)

by

Randy Clark; San Jose, CA and Christopher R. McDowell; Cincinnati, OH

1787		New Haven 3 rd May 1787	
		Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
		To Coppers paid for Salmon	0.. 5.. 6
May 3	*441	To Ditto paid for Horse & Carriage	0.. 3.. 0
		Jonathan Baldwin Delivered	
		him thirty Weight of Coppers	4.. 0.. 0
		for which he Gave in silver	1.. 16.. 5
£5.. 12.. 8½	*442	& one State Note/out in 1788 @ 3/	0.. 16.. 11
3 rd		Jonathan Baldwin.....	Dr
	*443	To Coppers..... 6/	0.. 6.. 0
4 th		Maj. Eli Leavenworth	Dr
	*444	To Coppers..... 4d	0.. 0.. 4d
		Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
		To Coppers Delivered Mrs. Leavenworth	0.. 0.. 4d
		To Ditto paid for Corks	0.. 1.. 0
		To Ditto	0.. 1.. 0
4 th	*445	To 1 Qt. Rum Delivered Chatterton	0.. 1.. 0
		Coppers paid Mix / Baker / for	:
		one [Keg] Crackers for Doct.
			0.. 3.. 6
5 th	*446	Baldwin to Carry to Nova Scotia	:
		Coppers paid Elijah Bradly for Work at [Books] &	
	*447	Balanced Co. accounts	0.. 5.. 2
		Coppers paid Jack for Work	:
	*448	at Packing Meal & Stamping	:
			0.. 4.. 6
		Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
	*449	To Coppers to Jack for Work	0.. 3.. 0
		Coppers paid Moore for Work at	:
		The Copper Works	:
			0.. 14.. 4
5	*450	Still Due said Moore 12/ -- Settled Acc't	
7 th		Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
		To 1 Qt. Rum Delivered Chatterton	0.. 1.. 0
		To Coppers paid Asa	0.. 0.. 6
	*451	To Ditto paid for meat	0.. 2.. 4
		Mark Richards.....	Cr
		By Cash of Bellamy endorsed	
		On the Execution	11.. 11.. 7½
		48/1 of the above sum was due to	
		M Leavenworth for Cash	2.. 8.. 1
	*452		£9.. 3.. 6½
		Edward Curtis.....Cr. By Cash endorsed on Execution	
	*453	against Justus Bellamy	0.. 8.. 4½
		Cash paid for Public Securities	
		Viz Dr. Prentice	3.. 14.. 4
		the above was in part for a	
		Note £60. 5. @ 3/3 the residue was paid at Hartford	9.. 15.. 0
		to Pay Table on Execution vs Alling viz £30. 3. 4½ rec'd of Seth	
	*454	Turner -- I did not fully agree what to give Turner	6.. 0.. 8
	*455	M. Leavenworth....Cr. By Cash rec'd of Tim Hall	3.. 7.. 0

1787	May 10 th	(51)	
	M Leavenworth.....	Dr.	
	To [order] with Timothy Phelps		
	for 2 yards Flannel & 1 Dozen Combs	1.. 3.. 0	
*456	To Cash Paid Ditto 19/6 Coppers 3/2	1.. 2.. 8	
	William Leavenworth.....	Dr	
*457	To Cash 36/~ 1 pair [Quality] 2/11	1..18..11	
	William Leavenworth.....	Dr	
*458	To Cash 9d		
	Isaac Baldwin.....	Dr	
	To 1¼ yards [Taffety] & 1 pair [Quality] 2/11		
*459	To 1 pair [Quality] 2/11		
10 th	William Leavenworth Carried		
*460	to Waterbury of Jonathan Baldwin Coppers.....	1.. 4.. 3	
	Capt. Phineas Bradley.....	Dr	
*461	To 1 Qt. Rum 4/	0.. 1.. 0	
	Coppers paid Bellfast for Stamping		
*462	100 lb. Coppers.....	0.. 1.. 8	
10 th	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr	
*463	To Coppers Delivered Mrs. L.	0.. 0.. 6	
	Jonathan Baldwin delivered him :		
	22½ lb. of his Coppers :....	3.. 0.. 0	
11	*464 Delivered 22½ lb. more of Coppers.....	3.. 0.. 0	
	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.	
11 th	To Coppers paid Stephen Atwater :		
*465	for balance in horse & carriage :	0.. 2.. 2	
	John Goodrich.....	Dr	
*466	To Baldwin's Coppers 15 lb.	2.. 0.. 0	
	Coppers paid Jack Arrabass		
*467	For 1¼ lb. Old Coppers @ 1/	0.. 1.. 3	
	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr	
11 th	To Coppers paid Jack :		
*468	For Jonathan Mix :	0.. 6.. 0	
	Coppers paid Alexander Thompson :		
*469	For Stamping 100 lb. Coppers :....	0.. 2.. 0	
11 th	John Curtiss.....	Dr.	
*470	To Order for Coppers paid John Miles	0.. 9.. 0	
12 th	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr	
*471	To Coppers.....	0.. 1.. 0	
	Samuel Lewis (Carman).....	Dr.	
*472	To Coppers 6/		

1787	New Haven 13 th May 1787	
ML	Mr. Stephen Munson.....	Dr
13 th	*473 To Coppers 4/	0.. 4.. 0
	Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.
	*474 To Coppers Delivered Mrs. Leavenworth	0.. 2.. 0
16	William Leavenworth.....	Dr
	*475 To Order for Coppers by Mr. Frost	0.. 10.. 0
	Coppers paid Alexander Thompson for Stamping Coppers.....	0.. 2.. 2
	*476 Ditto paid John for Ditto.....	0.. 2.. 0
	Benedict A L Brown.....	Dr
	*477 For Coppers.....	0.. 6.. 0
	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.
16 th	For Coppers Delivered Mrs. L	0.. 0.. 6
	For Ditto paid Mr. Nichol for Glasses	0.. 4.. 0
	For Ditto paid for Tea	0.. 5.. 0
17 th	For Ditto paid Thompson for Meat	0.. 3.. 10
	For Ditto paid Timothy Phelps /to balance acc't	0.. 3.. 2
	*478 For Ditto paid for Wood	0.. 5.. 6
17 th	*479 Coppers paid for Paper	0.. 0.. 8
	Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.
	*480 For Coppers Delivered Mrs. L.....	0.. 5.. 0
	Coppers paid Frances Moore for Work 2 days..... @ 3/4	0.. 6.. 8
18 th	Ditto paid 12/ which was behind	0.. 12.. 0
	*481 Balanced Account to this day	
18 th	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.
	*482 For Coppers paid for Radishes...	0.. 0.. 4d
	Major Eli Leavenworth.....	Dr
	*483 For Coppers 12d	0.. 1.. 0
19 th	Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
	For Coppers paid DeWitt...	0.. 9.. 10
	*484 For Ditto Eldad [Mix] / Bill	0.. 6.. 8
	William Leavenworth.....	Dr
	To Coppers Delivered Elijah Leavenworth to pay Mr. Beers for Whip	0.. 8.. 0
	M Leavenworth used for Expenses to Hartford and Norwich Cash on the Journey to get the Tea duly delivered	1.. 11.. 8
	M Leavenworth.....	Cr
	By Cash 81/ rec'd on Thacher's	
	*487 Order on E Beers	4.. 1.. 0
	Jonathan Baldwin..... delivered him in Coppers of our own	3.. 11.. 6
	this with 11/6d he owed us made up	
	*488 £12. 2 on Bronson's acc't for which we rec'd £53.13.11 State Notes	
19 th	Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
	*489 For Coppers paid for Meat	0.. 1.. 10½d
	New Haven 21 st May 1787	

May 21 st	*490	Coppers Exchanged for silver	0.. 1.. 6
22 nd		Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
	*491	For Coppers paid for Meat	0.. 2.. 5½
		Sam Russell & Co.....Dr.	
21 st	*492	For Coppers Delivered Elisha L	0.. 1.. 0
		Major Eli Leavenworth.....Dr	
22 nd	*493	To Coppers.....	0.. 0.. 6
		Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
	*494	To Coppers paid for Cambric	0..10..0
		Coppers paid Roger Sherman :	
	*495	For Signing two Writs :	0.. 2.. 8
		Seba Bronson.....Dr	
22 nd	*496	To Coppers Delivered Thomas Blakesley	0.. 3.. 0
24 th		Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
		For Coppers Delivered Mrs. Leavenworth	0.. 0.. 4d
	*497	For Ditto paid Mr. Thompson for Meat	0.. 3.. 0
		Benedict A L Brown.....Dr.	
	*498	For Coppers..... 1/4	0.. 1.. 4
		Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
24 th	*499	For Coppers Delivered Mrs. L	0.. 3.. 0
		Coppers paid Samuel Lewis for :	
25 th	*500	Carting Meal to Wharf :	0.. 3..10
		Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
		To Cash paid Sanford for :	
	*501	Linen 24 yards @ 2/4½ :	2..17..0
		Cash paid the Due Bill	
	*502	to Sanford £10. 1. 4½ Copper 1/3½	10.. 2.. 8
		Benjamin B Wilcox paid on	
		the Executions against him and his	
		Brother Coppers.....	1..10..0
		Cash.....	8.. 7.. 4
			9..17..4
		of which is to be endorsed	
		on Execution for Note.....	5.. 8.. 0
		on Execution for Book.....	4.. 9.. 4
	*503		9..17..4
26 th		Seba Bronson.....Dr.	
	*504	To Coppers / Delivered Thomas Blakesley	3.. 0.. 0
		Sam Russell @ Co.....Cr	
		By Cash 2 Guineas 50/7½ 8 Dollars 48/	5.. 4.. 7½
		Part of the above was Cash they	
	*505	rec'd of Smith & Frost to pay us	
		Ebenezer & Hez. Beardsley rec'd of	
	*506	[Abraham] Basset on Gould Note and endorsed	1.. 4.. 0

1787	May 26 th	Cash paid Belknap for State Note viz	
	*507	4321 Gideon Chittenden 1786 £14. 14. 7½ @ 3/	2.. 4.. 2
26 th		Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
		For Coppers paid for Radishes	0.. 0.. 6
27 th		For Ditto paid for Bread.....	0.. 1.. 0
26 th		For Ditto paid for Lime.....	0.. 3.. 0
27 th		For Ditto paid for Comb & Powder.....	0.. 1.. 9
28 th ..		For Ditto paid for Pomatum.....	0.. 0.. 8
29 th ..		For Ditto paid for Betsey	0.. 1.. 0
	*508		0.. 7.. 11
29 th	*509	Coppers paid for Padlock....	0.. 2.. 6
		Samuel Russell & Co.....Dr	
29	*510	To Cash----- ¼ Dollar -----	0.. 1.. 6
		Cash paid for £8.3.7 Certificate 7/	2.. 17.. 4
June		rec'd of Ezra Curtis..... 27/6 :	
	*511	on Ebenezer & Hez. Beardsley's Note :	
		Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
June 5 th		For 2 Qts. Rum 12d for Wood	0.. 2.. 0
	*512	Cash 7/6 & 1/6	0.. 9.. 0
		Cash paid for Boat & hack to fetch Doctor	
		Baldwin's Chest & goods on shore &	
		to store 4/4..... :	0.. 4.. 4
		Doctor Isaac Baldwin left Cash which :	
	*513	he brought from St. Johns :	57.. 17.. 5½
		Elijah & Thad Beecher.....Dr	
	*514	To Cash 1 Half Joe paid freight	2.. 7.. 9½
		Dan [Ackley] was the passenger who delivered	
	*515	Doctor Baldwin's things from on board John Shaw's Vessel	
		Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....Dr.	
7 th		For 3 Pts. Rum Delivered Milford	0.. 1.. 6
		Cash paid Sam Chatterton for £30-3.5¼ of State	
	*516	Notes which we owed him @ 3/2	4.. 15.. 6
		Joseph Shaylor – Memo Isaac Jones gave An Order on	
	*517	Elisha Miller up to Jonathon Marian for 64/ which with what	
		was before paid viz 46/ is to be a settlement with Shaylor	
		Joseph Danforth sent to him by	
		Jonathan Nott a half Joe on Acc't of old	
	*518	Copper which he is to send.	2.. 8.. 0
		Jonah Barr.....Dr.	
	*519	To 1 Doz. Wool Cards No3.....24/	
		William Leavenworth, Delivered him in Cash	
8 th	*520	One Guinea 28/	1.. 8.. 0
		Josiah Terrell.....Dr.	
		To 2 Doz. Wool Cards No2 24/	2.. 8.. 0
		1 Doz. Fans No.3 9/6 1 Doz. Deliv'd No. 4 10/6	1.. 0.. 0
	*521	2 Bags Buttons 11/	1.. 2.. 0

June 8 th	William Leavenworth delivered him		
*522	in State Notes 2 Notes £14. 16 & £5. 12	20.. 7.. 4	
	Cash paid for State Notes, 1667 Joel Wilcox 1780	8.. 9.. 6	
*523	Cash @ 3/	1.. 5.. 5	
	8.588 Sam Dextor 1787	11.. 4.. 5	
	8.049 Samuel Johnson 86	14.. 8.. 8½	
	7954 Henry Bail 89	9.. 9.. 0	
	5149 Joshua Smith 86	10.. 6.. 8	
*524	Bought of Belknap	£45.. 8.. 9½	
	On the above there was due 56/6 Interest before the first of February last which at 7/ is	0. 19. 9	
	£45. 8. 9½ Principal @ 3/	6. 16. 3	
	Paid Cash for the Same	7.. 16.. 0	
*525	and delivered the whole with the above Note of £8. 9. 6 to William L.		
9 th	Bought of Johnathan Tuttle State Notes Viz		
	9099 Cesar Edwards 88.....	9.. 9.. 0	
	8.101 Daniel Hornton 88.....	9.. 8.. 2½	
	579 Joseph Goldsmith 89.....	9.. 4.. 0	
	10112 Jeramiah Howe 89.....	18.. 13.. 0	
	2.983 Dick Reid 88.....	9.. 9.. 0	
	1619 Samuel Gray 88.....	5.. 18.. 2½	
	2.863 Elijah Mann 88.....	9.. 6.. 0	
	4.275 John Davenport 88.....	9.. 12.. 0	
	4.276 John Davenport 89.....	9.. 12	
	6.004 Benjamin Dimmick 89.....	42.. 13.. 9½	
		133.. 4.. 5½	
	Paid Cash Therefor for @ 3/	19.. 19.. 9	
	Paid also Cash to Joseph Ives :....	1.. 10.. 0	
*526	For Dunham's Certificate [TD] :	21.. 9.. 9	
	Eb. & Hez. Beardsley – William Gould Rec'd of Abraham Basset - on his Note to		
*527	Tuttle delivered to us by Gould as part payment to E & H B.	0.. 13.. 2	
	Charles Chauncey Esq. --- paid him the State Note we owed him (i.e.)		
	I paid him in Notes.....	84.. 13.. 2	
	and gave him Cash 6/ for change and for Trouble	0.. 5.. 6	
		84.. 18.. 8	
	Gave him also 1 Dollar more for		
*528	a small balance about 14/ of Interest Certificate due	0.. 6.. 0	
	Jonas Prentice – I endorsed the Execution against Thomas Blakely £18.13. 5 and I endorsed the Execution E & H Beardsley Against Sylvannes Bishop and he		
*529	endorsed the sum on Execution in favor Ebenezer Wright against ML		
	Jonathan Baldwin.....	Dr	
	To Carting Sprews and Scraps 54 lb.	0.. 2.. 0	
	Coal Potash @ Furnace	0.. 2.. 6	
	Cutting 300 lb. with Shears 2 Days Work & Rum	0.. 6.. 6	
	Bad Coppers 4½ lb.	0.. 12.. 0	
	Inspection on 201¾ lb. @ 5 percent	1.. 6.. 11	
	Grant on D @ 8 percent	2.. 4.. 0	
	Commissions on £28 @ 5 percent	21.. 6.. 7	
	Inspectors fees.....	0.. 3.. 0	
		6.. 3.. 6	
*530	Credit by 201¾ Coppers 2/8	26.. 11.. 4	

1787	June 13:			
13 th	Salmon Bostwick	Sold him		
June	1/4 lb. Staffe Twist Scarlet	46/		0..11..6
	2 3/4 lb. Ditto.....	40/		5..10..0
	2 1/4 lb. Ditto.....	32/		3..12..0
	44 Doz. Combs			1..0..8
	8 Gu Coat Binding	6/8		2..13..4
	6 doubly fine [Dea threads]12/			3..12..0
	1/4 Thread No. 7	7/		0..1..9
	1/4 Ditto No. 9	9/		0..2..3
	1/4 Ditto No. 11	12/0		0..3..0
	1/4 Ditto No. 13	14/9		0..3..8 1/4
	1 Dozen Ivory Combs			1..2..6
	1 Doz. Fans No. 1			0..6..0
	1 Doz. Ditto No. 2			0..8..0
	1 Doz. Ditto No. 5			0..16..0
	1 Doz. Ditto No. 7			0..19..6
	7 1/2 yards Pink [Persian]	3/		1..2..6
	8 1/4 yards Green Ditto	3/		1..4..9
	7 yards Blue Ditto	2/10		0..19..10
	Paid by Note of M and payable			£23..8..7 1/4
*531	The 1 st of December 1787			
13 th	M. Leavenworth.....	Dr		
*532	To 1 3/8 yds. pink Persian 3/8			0..5..0 1/2
13 th	*533 Samuel Russell & Co Dr. For Cask 1 dollar			0..6..0
14	Jonah Barr.....	Dr.		
	To 41 1/2 yards Pink Persian	2/9		5 14 1 1/2
	12 yards Green Do	2/9.		1 13.
	6 yards Blue Do	2/9.		16 6
	1/4 lb. / Twist 40/	10		
				8..13..7 1/2
	To Cash 4 Joes.....			9..7..1
	Memo This was out of the Bag from Waterbury on weighing			
*534	it fell 7d short			
15	*535 Benedict A L Brown Dr. To Coppers.....			0..1..4d
	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr		
*536	To Coppers.....	8d		0..0..8d
18 th	*537 Coppers paid for Ink & Vial			0..0..4d
	William Leavenworth.....	Dr		
18 th	To Order for Cash Delivered	:		
*538	Mr. Benjamin Curtiss.....	:		0..3..11
19 th	Cash Delivered William Fowler			18..1..9
	for which he is to Deliver us			
	six hundred and two dollars &			
	Eighty nine [Hundredths] in Continental			
	Loan Office Certificates			
*539	Within Eight days from the date			

1787		New Haven 19 th June 1787	
June		Messrs. Atwater & Lyon.....	Dr
19 th	*540	For 1 Doz. Wool Cards No.2 @ 23/	1.. 3.. 0
		Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
19 th		To 1 White Stick fan No. 5	0.. 1.. 2
		To 1 Paper Pins 8d	0.. 0.. 8d
21 st	*541	To 3 Pts. Rum	0.. 1.. 6
		Messrs. Atwater & Lyon.....	Cr
	*542	By Coppers paid for Cards 23/	1.. 3.. 0
	*543	Coppers paid for 2 ^{lb} . Old Copper	0.. 2.. 0
		Ebn. & Hez. Beardsley rec'd from Ezra Curtiss 19/6d Cash 2/6 Coppers in Full for his Note to Ez & H B the N.B I had before received 30/ & 25/	
	*544	Cash a few Days past I paid Oliver Mead for the residue of Wetmore & Sherman's Note.....	7..16..0
		He gave a [Discount]	1.. 9.. 8
	*545		9.. 5.. 8
		Capt. Caleb Gilbert.....	Dr
21 st	*546	To Coppers 14/6	0..14..6
		Henry Peck.....	Dr
21 st		To ½ ^{lb} . Tea I Delivered Amos Gilbert	0.. 2.. 0
22 nd	*547	To 1 Gallon Rum Delivered Mr. Eaton	0.. 4.. 0
		Wetmore & Sherman received of them an Order on Kirby for 2 Hogshead Molasses which was Delivered El & Th. Beecher and they received thereon 1 Hogshead [100 Gal. 10 Qt. out] = 196 Gallon 1/4	13.. 1.. 4
		Cooperage 2/6 Graying 1/ paid By Beecher	0.. 3.. 6
	*548	To be divided El&TH Beecher & Credited WL	£12..17..10
22 nd		Benedict Brown.....	Dr
	*549	To Coppers	0.. 3.. 6
		Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
		To 1 Gallon Rum.....	0.. 4.. 0
	*550	To 2 Qts. Ditto.....	0.. 2.. 0
		Seth Turner Credit By Cash	
	*551	paid by Ebenezer Belknap	1.. 4.. 6
		Cash paid Ebenezer Belknap for Continental Loan Office viz 4168 Jonathan Hall Jr. 3 rd Feb. 1778 200	£124.. 2.. 0
	*552	@ 2/ paid Cash 74/5	3..14..5
		Henry Peck.....	Dr
		To 1 Gal. Rum..... 4/	0.. 4.. 0
22 nd		To ½ ^{lb} . Tea Delivered Mr. Bradley ...4/	0.. 2.. 0
		To 2 Qts. Rum. @4/	0.. 2.. 0
		To ½ ^{lb} . Tea Delivered Mr. Mansfield	0.. 2.. 0
23 rd	*553	To 1 lb. Tea Delivered Boy	0.. 4.. 0

1787	Doctor Aaron Elliott.....	Dr	
June 23 rd	To ½ Dozen Wool Cards..... @ 24/	0..12..0	
*554	Credit By Coppers.....	0..12..0	
	William Fowler – paid him in Coppers		
	½ Doz. Wool Cards..... 24/	0..12..0	
	½ Doz. Ditto. 26/	0..13..0	
	Coppers.....	6..6..6	
	Coin 1Guinea 28/2½ ½ Guinea 14/ 2 Dol. 12/	2..14..2½	
*555		10..5..8½	
	Samuel Russell & Co rec'd of them		
	in Coppers.....	11..0..6	
	We rec'd in Nova Scotia for		
	their Tobacco :	5..17..10	
	We Received of them some time		
	Past 8 Dollars & 3 Guineas.....	6..13..3	
This is paid	They rec'd of Our Money from		
In Journal	Smith & Frost... 10 Dollars...	- 3..0..0	
26 May			
	Dr. To Cash This day		
*556	in Gold 2 Maids 3 Joes 1 Guinea 2½ Guineas	13..11..7	
23 rd	*557 Josiah Burr...Cr. By Cash.....	9..7..1	
	Joseph Ives.....	Dr.	
	*558 To Cash 5 Dollars	1..10..0	
	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr	
23 rd	To 3 Qts. Rum..... @ 4/	0..3..0	
	Paid Mr. Bills for Bricks		
25 th	*559 For Coppers paid Capt. Osborn for Carriage	0..1..0	
	Joseph Ives.....	Cr.	
	*560 By £10. 12. 8 State Note 2/11¼d.....	1..11..3	
23 rd	Sam Russell & Co. on the above Coppers		
	*561 they are to allow as [discount] equal to 45 for 55/i.e./	1..13..4	
Hoemaker	Joseph Smith paid him in		
26 th	*562 Coppers for his horse to go to Waterbury	0..8..0	
	Jonathan & Henry Peck.....	Dr	
	*563 To 6 Qts. Rum..... @ 4/	0..6..0	
	Loan Office bought of Redfield of Middletown		
	3088 300 Dollars Nathan Brown 212. 68 – 2/	6..7..8	
*564	Paid Cash		
	William Fowler.....	Dr	
	To Cash.....	9..3..10	
	Coppers.....	1..10..0	
	M Leavenworth going to West		
	Side and Writing Obligations Deed @ 12/	0..12..0	
	To 7/ Coppers 40/ Ditto.	2..7..0	
*565		13..12..10	
	William Leavenworth delivered him the two Loan Office		
	Certificates last bought & about £58 State Notes		
*566	Delv'd him Cash	7..9..5½	

1787	June 26 th		
June 26 th	William Fowler.....	Dr	
	To Cash	4.. 6.. 2	
	To Coppers.....	0.. 12.. 0	
		4.. 18.. 2	
	To [Oz.] Norton's Order.....	2.. 14.. 0	
	*567	7.. 12.. 2	
	*568	Eli & Thad Beecher Cr. By Cash	7.. 7.. 7½
		William Leavenworth.....	Dr
	*569	To Cash 7/6d	
		Coppers paid Roger Peck for	:
		394 Bushels Coal @ 3d.....	4.. 2.. 6
		he took up his Note Which we had of his	0.. 16.. 0
	*570		4.. 18.. 6
		William Leavenworth.....	Dr.
26 th		To Coppers Carried to Waterbury	4.. 0.. 6
	*571	To 1 ^{lb} Tea.....	0.. 3.. 6
		Henry & Jonathan Peck.....	Dr.
	*572	For 1 Gallon Rum Delivered Mr. Gilbert	0.. 4.. 0
		Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.
		For Coppers paid for Strawberries...	0.. 0.. 6½
27 th		For 1 Pt. Rum paid for Clams.....	0.. 0.. 0
28 th		For Coppers paid Mr. Smith.....	0.. 6.. 6½
		For Ditto paid David Mix.....	0.. 6.. 6½
	*573		0.. 13.. 7½
		Oliver Mead.....	Dr
		To Cash.....	7.. 2.. 2
		Ditto.....	1.. 4.. 0
	*574		8.. 6.. 2
		Coppers paid Tuttle for 1 £24 Continental Loan	
		Office @ 2/6	2.. 19.. 10
	*575	Cash sold said Loan Off for Cash 2/2	2.. 12.. 0
		Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
29 th		To Cash 14/4½.....	0.. 14.. 4½
	*576	To Coppers paid William Thompson for Meat	0.. 3.. 0
		William Leavenworth left with me	
		about £14 to buy Rum and I bought	
		of Jonas Prentice 125 Gallons @ 2/4	14.. 11.. 8
		and rec'd it at Robert Townsends and sent	
	*577	it to Waterbury by Sam Leavenworth	
		M Leavenworth.....	Dr
	*578	To Coppers gave Mrs. [Leavenworth]	0.. 1.. 2½
		Henry & Johnathan Peck.....	Dr
	*579	To 2 Qts. Rum..... @ 4/	0.. 2.. 0
		Capt. Jonas Prentice paid him	
	*580	Cash towards Rum ML	4.. 10.. 10½
	*581	Seth Turner Credit By Cash 1 Louis D'or.	1.. 7.. 0

1787	Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.	
June 30 th	To 1 Qt. Rum	0.. 1.. 0	
	To Coppers paid for Meat	0.. 2.. 6	
*582	To Ditto /Gave Asa/	0.. 1.. 6	
July 2 nd	Capt. Jonas Prentice.....	Dr.	
*583	To Cash toward Rum ML	0..18.. 0	
	Sam Russell & Co.....	Dr.	
	To Cash.....	0..15..3	
*584	Credit By Coppers 6 Dollars	1..16..0	
3 rd	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.	
	To Coppers	0.. 0..10	
4 th	To Ditto	0.. 2.. 0	
*585		0.. 2..10	
4 th	*586 Benedict A. L. Brown....Dr. To Coppers.....	0.. 1.. 0	
	Henry & Jonathan Peck.....	Dr.	
*587	To 2 Qts. Rum..... @ 4/	0.. 2.. 0	
	Josiah Burr.....	Dr.	
6 th	To ½ Dozen Wool Card No. 2 22/6	0..11..9	
	To 1 Dozen Wool Cards No. 3 24/	1.. 4.. 0	
*588		1..15..9	
*589	Samuel Russell & Co. Cr. By Coppers 4 Dollars	1.. 4.. 0	
7 th	Eli Leavenworth.....	Dr.	
	To Order for 1 pair shoes for Polly	0.. 9.. 3	
*590	1 Ditto a few days past for Mrs. L.	0.. 9.. 3	
	William Hillhouse to Mark Leavenworth Dr		
	To Eliakim Potters Order.....	1.. 4.. 9	
	To M.L. also for [discount] with Thomas Hickcox	2.. 0.. 0	
		3.. 4.. 9	
	To Coppers paid on Jonathan Smith's Order	0..10..0	
		3..14..9	
	To M.L. for [discount] with M Z Reed.....	2.. 0.. 0	
		5..14..9	
	Credit By Sy Dickinson note	8..11..0	
*591	Memo this leaves 27/ due to us on account of Dickinson's Note		
7 th	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.	
	To Coppers.....	0.. 1.. 2	
	To ditto.....	0.. 4.. 6	
	To ditto paid for Meat	0.. 1.. 4	
8 th	To ditto.....	0.. 1.. 0	
*592		0.. 8.. 0	
9 th	*593 Samuel Russell & Co....Dr. To Coppers.....	0.. 3.. 0	
	Mr. Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr.	
*594	To Coppers I Gave Mrs. Leavenworth	0.. 0.. 9d	
	Doctor Isaac Baldwin.....	Dr.	
*595	To Coppers paid Jonathan Chandler	0..10..0	
10	*596 Joel Atwater.....Cr By Cash 27/9d		
10 th	Henry & Jonathan Peck.....	Dr.	
	To 1 Gallon Rum.. 4/	0.. 4.. 0	
12 th	*597 To 2 Qts Rum 4/	0.. 2.. 0	

1787	William Fowler.....	Dr	
July 13 th	To Cash paid him at Jonathan Miles :		
*598	a day or two past :		2..11..8
	Oliver Mead.....	Cr	
	By Cash rec'd by Jonathan Miles :		
*599	Or Capt. Shattuck :		8..12..0
	William Fowler paid him of the :		
*600	above Money 45/ :		2.. 5.. 0
	Peleg Sanford paid him of the above £6 :		
*601	In full for what we borrowed of him :..		6.. 0.. 0
	M Leavenworth.....	Dr	
*602	To Residue of said Cash.....		0.. 7.. 0
	William Fowler.....	Dr	
13 th	To Coppers paid Edwards		1..17..6
*603	To Coppers 24/		0..18..0
	Justus Bellamy To M Leavenworth.....	Dr	
	For Costs versus Woolcott 11/		
*604	Execution 1/Duty 1/		0..13..0
	Henry & Jonathan Peck.....	Dr	
18 th	*605 To ½ lb Tea (Delivered Mr. Hubbard)		0.. 2.. 0
	John Ransom Esq. [advanced] Mrs. Rogers		
	8½ yards Pink Durant of H Daggett Esq. 2/7		1.. 1..11½
	8½ yards White Flannel 3/4 B&L		1.. 9.. 4
*606	1 piece Linen 25 yards 3/ bought of P Sanford		3..15..0
	Doctor Isaac Baldwin.....	Dr	
	To Coppers..... 40/		2.. 0.. 0
	67/8 yards [Taffely] 6/8		
	¼ lb. Thread No. 40 59/6		0..14..10½
	½ lb. Ditto No. 7 7/2		0.. 1.. 9½
*607	1 Comb.....		0.. 2.. 4
19	Henry & Jonathan Peck.....	Dr	
*608	To 1 lb. Tea.....		0.. 4.. 0
	William Fowler.....	Dr	
	To Norm Wise & Journey to :		
	Wallingford to demand the :..		0..12..0
*609	Goods of Day :		
	John Ransom.....	Dr	
	To 8 yards [Chantz] of HD. For Mrs.		
*610	Rogers @ 6/3.....		2..10..0
	Isaac Baldwin.....	Dr	
	To H. Daggett Esq.		
*611	For 1 [Chemical] Experiments		0..12..0
*612	Sam Russell Co. repaid 15/ sent them		0..15..0
*613	M. Leavenworth Dr. Cash of above		0.. 1.. 6
24 th	William Leavenworth.....	Dr	
*614	For 2 lb. Tea @ 3/6		0.. 7.. 0
25 th	*615 Frances Moore...Dr. For 1 Gal. Rum		0.. 4.. 0

1787		New Haven 28 th July	
28 th		Henry & Jonathan Peck.....Dr	
July	*616	For 2 ^{lb} Tea @ 4/	0.. 8.. 0
		William Fowler... Dr To R. Clark	
		For 30/ Coppers	
		To B&L for 129 Gallons Rum received of J. Thompson	
	*617	and endorsed on his Note to B&Z the rum @ / per Gal.	
		Eb. & Hez. Beardsley Their Execution	
		against Doctor Hezekiah Hooker.....Debit	5..17..8
		Cash 8/Ex1/Duty 1/	0..10..0
		RL endorsed Execution in full as rec'd	6.. 7.. 8
		Of Capt. Prentice which was paid	
		as follows viz Paid Prentice for	
		Job Shepard for the Loan Office sold	
		by Lockwood & remitted to Watson	3..14..10
		Jonas Prentice Dr. to the Balance of	
		said Execution.....	2..11..10
			£ 6.. 6.. 8
		this 57/10 is to pay the Residue of	
		the Rum due Prentice & the balance to be	
	*618	applied to other Acc't	
		Abeathar Camp sent me	Sterling
		a Bill of Joseph Brittain for.....	15..17..0
		which I sent by Beecher to Watson to pay	
		Wm L's Note to Jordan and ordered Watson	
		To pay Beecher the Balance and Beecher	Lawful Money
	*619	Advanced me	6.. 0.. 0
1 st		Samuel Russell & Co.....Dr	
August	*620	For ½ ^{lb} Beeswax	
3 rd		David Bunce.....Cr	
	*621	By 1 Ream Writing Paper.....	0..18..0
		Frances Moore.....Dr	
4 th	*623	For 1 Gal. Rum 4/	0.. 4.. 0
		Benedict AL. Brown.....Dr.	
	*624	For 1 Fan..... No.....	
5 th	*625	Samuel Russell & Co...Dr For 1 Fan.....No	
		Delivered Nehemiah Higgins	
7 th		9 Gal. & 3 Qts. Rum @ 3/3 by Elisha Desire	1..11..7½
	*626	for which he let Elisha have a Quantity Hay	
		Benedict AL. Brown.....Dr.	
10 th	*627	For Coppers..... 1/4	0.. 1.. 4
		Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
		For Coppers.....	0.. 2.. 6
12 th	*628	For Ditto.....	0..12..0
		Capt. P. Bradley.....Dr.	
12 th		To Order for 1 pair Woman	
	*629	Shoes at Mr. Jacob Daggett store	

1787		(57)	
16 th		Isaac Thompson's Note was paid by 4/5½ to M.L. & 51/5½ endorsed	
August	*630	On Note against ML to Joel Gilbert's Admission	
		Ira Ruben.....Dr	
		To Coppers delivered Dan Andras @ 24 to 1/	0.. 6.. 0
	*631	To Coppers delivered Dan Andres @ 24 to 1/	0..12..0
		Johnathan Sherman.....Dr	
	*632	For Coppers..... 80/	4.. 0.. 0
		Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
	*633	For Coppers 18/	0.. 1.. 0
		Abner Bradley send lash Oct. :	
		657 feet of Boards 5/ :	1..12..8
	*634	Dr. To B & L for 5. 0. 1 ^{lb} . Iron..... 33/	8.. 5.. 4
		Peleg Sanford ML paid him	4.. 5.. 1
		Of which 27/5½ was due for Rachel	
		Baldwin's 1 linen the residue is on	
	*635	William Fowler's Order	
		Sent to Waterbury to Dr. Baldwin by David	
20 th		50/ Shillings in Coppers	2..10..0
		Also for Mrs. Rogers 2 Table Cloths Viz	
	*636	5 yards Diaper 2 yards wide @ 10/6d	2..12..6
		Coppers paid Mr. Coloney for :	
		Carting Meal down upon ...	0.. 4.. 0
	*637	Wharf 4/ @ 24 Coppers to 1/ :	
		Mark Leavenworth.....Dr	
		For Coppers.....	0.. 0.. 8d
		For Ditto paid W. P. Johnson :	
28 th		for Town Rate (Counted at 18 to 1/) ²	0..12..0
		For Coppers paid Miss. H Kimberly -18	0.. 0.. 9
29 th		For Coppers paid Man for Apples	0.. 0.. 8d
30 th		12 Coppers @ 2 for 1d	0.. 0.. 6
	*638	Deducted 4/ for Johnson 10/7	0..14..7
		Jonathan Baldwin to Isaac Bronson in Co. with	
		Thomas Fowler & Co. Dr.	
		For [Discount] on Bronson's Note.....	9.. 8.. 0¾
		Isaac Bronson in Credit Thomas Fowler & Co.	
		To ML Dr.	
		For Cash paid fees versus Baldwin viz	
		Duty 1/ Off 6/ Clerk June 2/ July 2/ Aug. 19/9 :	1..19..3
		Copper 5/6 Supplies by Clerk 3/ :	
		ML's Fees June 12/ July 10/ Aug 18/ Sept 18/	2..18..0
		Cash of ML.....	3.. 7.. 7½
			8.. 4..10½
		To ML for Costs versus John Thorman in Confession	0.. 3.. 9¼
		LBL paid Beecher freight	0..19..5
	*639		£ 9.. 8.. 0¾
		Coppers paid for Wafers to Mr. Beers	0.. 0.. 5
	*640	Coppers paid Mr.... 11 Coppers	0.. 0.. 5½

1787	New Haven 1 st Sept 1787		
Sept 1 st	Mark Leavenworth.....Dr		
	For Coppers paid for Peaches	0.. 0.. 4	
	For Ditto paid for Pairs @ 2 for 1d	0.. 0.. 9	
	For Coppers sent to Doctor Beardsley	0.. 0..10	
	For Ditto paid for Vinegar 90 Coppers	0.. 3.. 9	
	Deducted 5d	0.. 5.. 8	
*641		0.. 5.. 3	
1 st	B.A.L. Brown.....Dr		
*642	For Coppers..... 12	0.. 0.. 6d	
	Mark Leavenworth.....Dr		
	For Coppers..... 12	0.. 0.. 6d	
3 rd	For Ditto..... 24	0.. 1.. 0	
*643	For Ditto paid Mr. Lyman 24	0.. 1.. 0	
	Coppers Sold Aabott Orsborn	:	
6 th	for which he gave his Note	7.. 0.. 0	
*644	to be paid in ten Months	:	
	[Irijah] Tirrell – Memo in his	:	
	Bill of Flower 2.0.8 ^{lb} Wheat was	1..17..3	
*645	sent which was not credited 18/	:	
	Atwater & Lyon M.L. borrowed of them		
	in Cash.....	6.. 0.. 0	
	Out which paid Rowe for	4..10..3	
	Iron bought by Doctor Baldwin for	:	
*646	Copper Works.....		
	Doctor Baldwin paid Thomas Ransom		
	for ML on Acc't of Gilbert's Note	2.. 7.. 0	
	ML paid Doctor Baldwin for	:	
	the Town Record Book	1.. 4.. 0	
*647		1.. 3.. 0	
	Doctor Isaac Baldwin.....Dr		
7	*648 To Coppers	7.. 0.. 0	
	Coppers paid Daniel Bowen @ 27 to 1/3	:	
7 th	on Acc't of a book which Doctor	5.. 8.. 0	
*649	Baldwin had of him	:	
	ML delivered Isaac Baldwin State		
*650	Notes £32.16.5d bought with ML's Cash @ 3/	4..12..6	
	M Leavenworth.....Dr		
	For Coppers paid for Cranberries	0.. 0.. 8d	
*651	For Ditto paid for Nails....	0.. 0.. 3	
	Cash paid Mr. Lewis for Carting		
10 th	Juniper berries from Doctor Goodrich	0.. 2.. 0	
	& One Shilling for Carting Hay	0.. 1.. 0	
*652		0.. 3.. 0	
10 th	*653 Mr. Jonathan Hubbard..Credit.. By Cash. 20/	1.. 0.. 0	
	Mark Leavenworth.....Cr		
13 th	By Cash 1/ paid Joseph Danford on Acc't		
*654	of Old Copper which he sold the Co.....	0..18..8d	

1787		(58)
Sept 13	ML received 21/9 in full of Ezra Baker's	
*655	Note to E & H. Beardsley	
	Sylvannis Dickenson	
	Delivered him his Note in favor of	
	Daniel Gray on which we	
*656	Paid [William] Hillhouse £8.11.0	
	ML rec'd of Elisha W my Money	
	From Nova Scotia	£ 5..14..0
	1 Half Joe 48/10 3 Dollars 18/	3.. 6..10
	= paid back to Elisha	9.. 0..10
		1..12..4
		7.. 8.. 6
	Rec'd also of S Russell & Co	3.. 4.. 3½
	Tolcot Russell's Money	6.. 4.. 0
*657		£ 9.. 8.. 3½
	Eli Leavenworth has rec'd at	
	Jacob Daggett's at Sundry Times	
*658	2 pair Thays at 8/3 1 pair at 7/9	1.. 4.. 3
23 rd	Russel Clark.....Dr.	
	To 7 Ivory Combs No. 8 @ 21/6	0..12..1
*659	To 10 Ditto No. 2 11/	0.. 9.. 2
	Samuel Russell & Co Pierpont Edward's returned	
	Them Cash viz Talcot Russell Money	
*660	and more /i.e./ the Money I [cost them]	8..12..10
	M Leavenworth.....Dr	
	To delivered in full of Wetmore & Sherman's Notes	7.. 7.. 0
	Credit By Copper Works Lease after [Debt] for	
	Sum paid E Larkin for Truck.....	0.. 5.. 6
	By 49 ^{lb} Tea paid Josiah Barr in :	
*661	full for the Coppers @ 2/2 :	5.. 6.. 2
	Doctor Isaac Baldwin To ML.....Dr.	
*662	For Cash paid Order by Daniel August 9/	
October	Mr. Abner Bradley.....Dr	
15 th	*663 For 2 ^{lb} Tea..... @ 3/6	7.. 0.. 0
	Isaac Baldwin.....Dr	
	*664 To 1 Doz. Fans @	
	ML Book Capt. Phenias Bradley.....Dr.	
20 th	*665 For 2 Qts. Rum.... 4/	2.. 0.. 0
	Mark Leavenworth.....Cr	
Nov	Pay 5 ^{lb} Tea	7.. 5.. 0
1 st	*666 Delivered /5 Jonathan Gilbert On Acc't of Benjamin Conklin	

1787	November 3 rd 1787 Received the Residue of Execution E&H B versus Titus Hall being 44/7	
	*667 ML rec'd this	
November 8 th	James Moger.....Dr	
	For 2 & 3/8 yards P Laun 7/4	0..19..3
	For 1 Testament 2/	0.. 2.. 0
	For 1 Pair Shoe Buckles	0.. 0.. 8
	Received at H. Daggett 6d	
	For 1 Hundred Needles	0.. 1.. 6
	Received at J. Beer's for 2 lb. Tea.....	0.. 6.. 0
	*668	£ 1.. 9.. 5
	Mark Leavenworth.....Cr.	
8 th	By 2 lb. Tea @ 3/	6.. 0.. 0
	*669 Delivered James Moger	
	James Moger	
9 th	To ML.....Dr.	
	*670 For 3 Pewter Platters 6 lb. @ 2/	0..12..0
	Samuel Russell & Co.....Dr.	
	To Elijah Phelps for 432½ lb. Chean @ 4d	
	*671 For John Brainard	
	M Leavenworth To Murch.....Dr.	
	*672 For £6.2.5½ State Notes sold Ives @ 3/3	0..19..10½
	Francis Moore.....Dr	
	*673 10 Shoes (these are due)	
	Mark Leavenworth.....Cr	
14 th	By Rum & Tea.....	9.. 0.. 0
	*674 Paid H. Tuttle for Work at Copper Works	
	William Leavenworth.....Dr	
	& To M Leavenworth.....Dr	
15	For 4 Bottles Wine	
	*675 For 1½ lb. Loaf Sugar	
	Samuel Osborne The Cash in the Execution against him on Confession Before H. Daggett is 11/ Execution 1/ Debt 60/11	
	*676 Execution in Prentice's Hands.....	3..12..11
	Copper Works (Per) ML paid Ez Hayes	
	*677 For 2 Spikes to fasten Block	2.. 2.. 0
22	B J & B Wilcox on Computation of the Execution against Them we found due £15.2.1¼ after the Payment which he this Day made to ML of £.....	4.. 5.. 7½
	ML Costs against said Wilcox which was :..	2.. 6..10
	allowed in said Computation was :	
	Duty on 2/ [tariff]	0.. 4.. 0
	-----	2..10..10
	Wilcox has paid Prentice 70/	

	ML also paid Prentic's fees 30/ which :	
	Sum went in to make the Above £ 15. 2 1¼ :	
	*678 and also ML paid Prentice for Light Money 1/9 :	1..10.. 9

1787	New Haven 27 th November 1787	
	Eli Leavenworth.....Cr.	
*679	By Coppers @ 27 to Shilling 4	1.. 7.. 0
	Mark Leavenworth.....Dr.	
	To Coppers paid Esq. Daggett :	
*680	Counted at 27 to Shilling :	1.. 0.. 0
	Paid in Coppers to Mr. Stent	
	for fees on Isaac Execution.....	0.. 7.. 0½
*681	paid at 27 to Shilling	
	Mr. James B Reynolds.....Cr	
29 th	By Cash in Full.... 33/	1..13..0
*682	To be paid ML	
	To M Leavenworth	
	Capt. P. Bradley.....Dr.	
30 th	*683 For 1 Qt. Rum..... 1/	0.. 1.. 0
	Mark Leavenworth... Dr. To 12 Gallon Blue and	
	Brown Narrow Bindings 5/	3.. 0.. 0
*684	To Cash rec'd on Execution versus Sam. Osborne	2.. 6.. 5½
	Joseph Ives Dr.. To Loan Office Certificates	
	Dd. 58 : £50. 2. 9d 3/.....	7..10..4½
	108 :	
*685	Paid ML Cash £4. 15	
December	William Fowler	
4 th	To M. Leavenworth.....Dr.	
	For Cash paid Aaron Elliott... 20/	1.. 0.. 0
*686	To Charles Prindle for Cash paid 8/6d	3.. 0.. 0
	Capt. P. Bradley Dr.	
	To M. Leavenworth.....Dr.	
8	*687 For 1 Qt. Rum... 1/	0.. 1.. 0
	M. Leavenworth Dr. For Cash endorsed	
	On Execution on BJ&B Wilcox by B A L Brown	6.. 0.. 5
	Ditto Rec'd by ML at Guilford	1.. 1.. 0
*688		7.. 1.. 5
10	Gideon Buckingham Esq.....Cr.	
*689	By £3.10.0 Civil List 17/	2..19..6
11	M. Leavenworth Cr. By Cash on Execution	
*690	against [Hez] Tolles 19/3 Duty 2/	1.. 1.. 3
	Smith & Frost.....Cr	
13 th	By 1 each Proceeds of Potashes :	
	Sold in New York 14 th November 1786 :..	6..19..10
*691	By Eli & Thad. Beecher :	
	M. Leavenworth.....Dr	
*692	To send to Thomas Phelps.....	2.. 3.. 3
	James Hillhouse Cr. By [delv'd. arch]	
*693	Isaac Bronson for a Note...	0..16..0
*694	William Leavenworth Dr. To the above Received	0..16..0

1787	New Haven 21 st Dec. 1787	
	Mr. B. Chittenden... Dr.	
*695	For Cash	8..17..3
	By New Haven 1 st January 1788	
1788	Mark Leavenworth.....	Cr.
1 st	By Team paid Mr. Fenton for	0.. 2.. 6
January	*696 pipe Clay for Copper Works	
	Samuel Russell & Co.....	Cr.
ML		
	By Cask	0..14..0
	By Coppers	0.. 4.. 0
0..18..0		
1 st	*697 By Coppers.....	0.. 2.. 0
	M. Leavenworth Dr. to Cash rec'd of Prentice on :	
	The execution versus Samuel Osborne.....	0.. 6.. 4½
	To 5 Gal. Rum rec'd for Hoops of Allen & Co. 3/	0..15..0
	John Ransom Esq. To ML	Dr.
	For seven skins of John Thomson for	
	The Bottom of William Roger's Chairs	0..14..0
	For Cash paid for Tow Cloth for Ditto	0.. 5.. 0
*698	For Tea paid Barney's Bill bottoming:	1.. 3.. 0
16 th	Mr. David Bunce.....	Dr.
January	*699 For 1 ^{lb} Tea..... 3/	0.. 3.. 0
	Mark Leavenworth.....	Cr
*700	By 1 ^{lb} Tea Delivered David Bunce.....	0.. 3.. 0
	The Note in favor of Mr. Samuel Johnson against Samuel Osborne was assigned to us by Samuel Thacher so much of which as he owed Seth Austin is to be credited on our Bill against him -- The residue to Samuel Thacher -- ML's Costs in Execution obtained	
*701	at the present Court on said Note against Osborne is	2.. 8.. 6
	Peleg Sanford.....	Dr
19 th	*702 For 6 oz. Twist @ 40/	0..15..0
	*703 Sryah Turrell.....	Cr
2X1L	By 32¾ ^{lb} Butter	
	M. Leavenworth.....	Dr.
*704	27/16 yards White Flannel	
	Messrs. Samuel Russell & Co.....	Cr
*705	By Coppers.....	0.. 8.. 0
February 1 st	By ditto Rec'd of Elisha 2/	0.. 2.. 0
	Mark Leavenworth.....	Dr
*706	For the above Coppers.....	0..10..0

End Notes

1. Prior valuation of Connecticut Coppers was 18 per shilling. The devaluation to 24 per shilling is a sign of the beginning of a larger problem of copper devaluation, leading to the Copper Panic of 1789.

2. Although this page contains several references to the new rate of 24 coppers per shilling, the "Town Rate" of 18 per shilling was still used—possibly for retail transactions.

3. Copper devaluation had caused the rate to drop to 27 coppers per shilling for this transaction.

4. Copper rates seem to be holding steady from the previous fall of 27 coppers per shilling.

